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CONTENTS

Hiberno-Norse and Irish Sea Imitations of Cnut's <i>Quatrefoil</i> Type by MARK BLACKBURN	1
Textual Sources for the Study of Jewish Currency Crimes in Thirteenth-Century England by W. JOHNSON	21
The Ednam, Roxburghshire, Hoard (1995) by N.M.McQ. HOLMES	33
Thomas Graham's Copper Survey of 1857 by G.P. DYER	60
The Coinage of 1893 by MARK STOCKER	67
Scottish Coin Collectors by LORD STEWARTBY	87
SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES	
Further Confirmation of a Kentish Alliance? – Light Shed by a New Bronze Unit of Verica by G.L. COTTAM	113
Some Imitations and Forgeries of the English and Irish Long Cross Pence of Henry III: Corrected Catalogue by J.J. NORTH	117
The Chronology of Edward I Class 2 by MARTIN ALLEN	123
More on the Dumfries Hoards (1878) by N.M.McQ. HOLMES	125
An Unrecorded Farthing Type of David II of Scotland by N.M.McQ. HOLMES	126
The Classification of Henry VII Sovereign Pence by MARVIN ALLEN	127
An Early Sixteenth-Century Silver Hoard from Downham, Lancs. by B.J. COOK and ADRIAN LEWIS	131
A Listing of Cromwell Coin Types by MARTIN LESSEN	132
An Armorial Token from 'Breadgate' by R.H. THOMPSON	134
The Macclesfield Hoard of Nineteenth-Century Gold Coins by PHILLIP ATTWOOD	136
COIN REGISTER 1996	140
REVIEW ARTICLE	
Elizabeth J.E. Pirie, <i>Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700–867 in the Yorkshire Collections (The Yorkshire Museum, York; The University of Leeds; The City Museum, Leeds)</i> (Stewart Lyon)	173
REVIEWS	
G. Davies, <i>A History of Money, from Ancient times to the Present Day</i> (A.J. Holmes)	
John F. Chown, <i>A History of Money from AD 800</i> (C.E. Challis)	177
J.J. North, <i>English Hammered Coinage, volume 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III, c. 600–1272, third edition</i> (Hugh Pagan)	178
John D. Brand, <i>The English Coinage 1180–1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges</i> (Lord Stewartby)	179
R. Lobel, M. Davidson, A. Hailstone and E. Calligas, <i>Coincraft's Standard Catalogue of English and UK Coins 1066 to date</i> (D.L.F. Sealy)	180
Jørgen Steen Jensen (editor), <i>Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra Den kongelige Mønt – og Medaillesamling (Danish Coins from the 11th Century in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals)</i> (Stewart Lyon)	181
Jean Duplessy, <i>Les Tresors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France, vol. II (1233–1385)</i> ; Aime Haeck, <i>Middelleeuwse Muntschatten Gevonden in België (750–1433)</i> (N.J. Mayhew)	183

R.H. Thompson and M.J. Dickinson, <i>Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles</i> 46. <i>The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.: Tokens of the British Isles 1575–1750. Part V – Staffordshire to Westmorland</i> (Christopher Mycock)	184
R.G. Doty and T. Hackens (editors), <i>ITALIAM FATO PROFUGI – Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Clain-Stefanelli</i> (H.E. Manville)	184
PROCEEDINGS 1996	187
ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1995	188
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 1996	190
PRESENTATION: THE SANDFORD SALTUS MEDAL TO MR JEFFREY NORTH	193
PRESENTATION: THE COUNCIL PRIZE TO MR MARTIN ALLEN	194
INDEX	195
The British Numismatic Society	207
Abbreviations	207

HIBERNO-NORSE AND IRISH SEA IMITATIONS OF CNUT'S *QUATREFOIL* TYPE

MARK BLACKBURN

ANGLO-SAXON and other foreign coins circulated in the Irish Sea area from at least the ninth century, but it was only in the 990s that the Hiberno-Norsemen of Dublin under the rule of Sihtric III 'Silkenbeard' (c. 994–1030s?, d.1042) instituted a coinage of their own.¹ For the first twenty-five years (Dolley Phase I) the coin types copied those of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon issues of Æthelred II (978–1016) and Cnut (1016–35), while the subsequent coinages generally employed distinctive designs intended to differentiate them from the English currency. Of the five successive English types that inspired broadly parallel issues at Dublin in Phase I, it is the last of these, Cnut's *Quatrefoil* type, that is the subject of this paper. Research prompted by the discovery of two hoards from North Wales, Bryn Maelgwyn (1979) and Pant-yr-eglwys (1981), soon established that there are two distinct groups of imitations, one associated with Dublin and another which appears to be the product of a second independent mint in the Irish Sea area, possibly at Meols in the Wirral.² These two groups of coins, which are listed in Appendices 1 and 2 below and illustrated on Plates 1–2 will be considered in turn.

Quatrefoil was Cnut's first issue and it must have been introduced within a few months of his accession to the English throne following Edmund Ironside's death in November 1016.³ There is no direct evidence by which to date the end of the type, and at present the best we can do is to regard Cnut's three issues as being of broadly similar duration, thus assigning them each some six or seven years. A date bracket of c. 1017–23 is both conventional and currently our best estimate. One other feature of the *Quatrefoil* issue is that die-production in England was decentralised, and some nineteen die-cutting centres have been identified, responsible for forty-two distinctive styles or sub-styles.⁴ Thus we have a very clear idea of the style that one would expect at any given mint in England, and this is a powerful tool when it comes to detecting imitations purporting to come from English mints.

The Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* issue

Quatrefoil is the rarest of the five Hiberno-Norse types in Phase I. We know of only thirty specimens, of which six are in public collections in the British Isles, twenty-three are in

¹ The standard general work on the Hiberno-Norse coinage is R. H. M. Dolley, *The Hiberno-Norse Coins in the British Museum* (SCBI 8; London, 1966), and for an introduction see M. Dolley, *Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin* (London, 1965).

² A version of this paper was read to the Society on 9 July 1983. It was prompted by a lecture given by George Boon in October 1982 on the Bryn Maelgwyn and Pant-yr-eglwys hoards, and it was to have been written jointly with Michael Dolley, although in the event this collaboration was prevented by his untimely death in March 1983. The paper still owes much to Prof. Dolley's inspiration and encouragement, and to Mr Boon's generosity in sharing the important Welsh material. Some points from the lecture were incorporated into Mr

Boon's prompt and thorough publication of the hoards; G. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–1981* (Cardiff, 1986), pp. 1–35. I should also like to acknowledge advice from Stewart Lyon and the late Bill Seaby, and assistance from museum colleagues who supplied information or photographs, Marion Archibald, Donal Bateson, Edward Besly, Brita Malmer, Vsevolod Potin, and Tuukka Talvio. I am grateful to Stephen Doolan for drawing Fig. 1 and to the National Museum of Wales for permission to reproduce Figs. 2 and 4.

³ For a more detailed discussion of the dating see M. Blackburn and S. Lyon, 'Regional die-production in Cnut's *Quatrefoil* issue', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M. A. S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 223–72, at 256–9.

⁴ Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional die-production'.



Fig. 1. The Irish Sea area.

museums on the Continent, and one was recently in the trade. These thirty coins are struck from sixteen obverse and reverse dies, which suggests that we know a good proportion of the dies originally employed in the coinage. Unfortunately the sample is relatively small and a close prediction of the original number of dies used cannot be made, but the figures indicate that there were in the order of twenty-five obverse and reverse dies.⁵ This fairly small estimated number of dies does not appear merely to be the result of a limited group of coins having been exported to the Northern Lands, for each of the five coins with putative find

⁵ Using the formulae recommended in W. Esty, 'Estimation of the size of a coinage: A survey and comparison of methods', *NC* 146 (1986), 185–215 (nos. J1, H5, and C2), it is estimated that there were originally some 27 obverse dies and 25 reverse dies; the ranges implied by the 95% confidence

limits are 44 to 17 obverse dies and 40 to 16 reverse dies. About 73% of the original coinage would have been struck by the surviving obverse dies, and 77% by the surviving reverse dies.

provenances in the British Isles is die-linked to coins found in Scandinavia. It is unlikely, therefore, that more than a few dozen *Quatrefoil* dies were ever employed at the Dublin mint, a figure that is comparable to our estimate for the earlier *Helmet* issue,⁶ although considerably smaller than the number that must have been used in the *Crux*, *Long Cross* and *Last Small Cross* issues at Dublin. We are thus dealing with a very small coinage, and its rarity today is not due merely to a paucity of finds or to a dwindling of the coin export to the Northern Lands.

Only six of the obverse dies (HN4–7, 17–20) carry the name of the Dublin king, Sihtric. The other ten copy English legends, normally that of Cnut but one (HN1) surprisingly has the name of Æthelred II. The reverse dies, on the other hand, have predominantly Hiberno-Norse legends – eight have recognisable Dublin mint-signatures (DYFL, DIF, DYFI, DYFLI, DYN, D, DY, DVF), one or possibly two copy London coins (HN2, 7) and the others are essentially illiterate.

Two Dublin moneyers are named on the *Quatrefoil* coins. Færeman occurs on four dies in corrupt but discernible forms (FERENN, FEREMN, FNREII, FEINEI), and echoes of the same name probably lie behind three others (HEHEN, NERIN, NDREM). This is the most common moneyer's name in the Hiberno-Norse series, found in each of the five issues of Phase I and repeated on coins of Phases II and III, thus spanning a period of some fifty years. At some stage the use of the name evidently became merely an immobilisation, and the rather illiterate forms observed here suggest that this had happened already by the time of the *Quatrefoil* issue. In the case of the second name, we can be reasonably confident that it does represent a moneyer who was active at this period. Stegn or Stegen (ON *Steinn*) is recorded in both this *Quatrefoil* issue and early coins of Phase II. It seems that when ordering dies, Stegn was rather particular about the form and accuracy of the legends. One of his pairs, of typical later Hiberno-Norse style, has an obverse reading +ZIHTRC RE+ DYFLMO, rather than the more usual Cnut legend. The reverse also has a somewhat pedantic inscription, +ZTEGEN MON ON D ('Stegen moneyer at Dublin'). Stegn used one other obverse and two other reverse dies, and these are of even greater interest, for he seems to have commissioned the Chester die-cutter to make them for him. Their inscriptions are also unusual and will be discussed below. One of the remaining coins with a respectable Dublin mint-signature (HN4) bears what at first sight could be the name of a third moneyer, +ZPIIIÐEI MO DYFL, but some letters are ambiguous and this may again be attempting the name ZTEGEN.

Dublin-cut dies

What would appear to be the earliest pair of dies (HN1) in this series is unmistakably related to the preceding Dublin issue, *Last Small Cross*. In both the proportions of the face and the angle of the head are similar, and moreover the die-cutter had not studied the new Anglo-Saxon coins with sufficient care to notice that there had been a change of ruler, so that he continued to put Æthelred's name on the obverse. The reverse is more accomplished, and may be a slightly later production. It is likely that the same die-cutter was responsible for this and the *Last Small Cross* type, which would also suggest that there was some continuity of minting between the two issues.

Stylistically the next obverse die in the sequence seems to be that represented by Hildebrand 2541 and a coin from the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard (HN2–3). It shows a conscious attempt to

⁶ M. Blackburn, 'Hiberno-Norse coins of the *Helmet* type', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, edited by K. Jonsson (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 9–24, at p. 11. Some 38 obverse and 40 reverse dies of the *Helmet* type are estimated to have been

used; the ranges implied by the 95% confidence limits are 66 to 24 obverse dies and 69 to 24 reverse dies. About 63% of the original coinage would have been struck by the surviving dies.

reproduce the portraiture of the English prototype more closely. The proportions of the head with two curls projecting behind the neck and the crown with small straight fleures ending in pellets set it apart from the other dies. The prototype may well have been an early coin of London,⁷ and this view gains support from the reverse of HN2 which reproduces the legend of a coin of the London moneyer Leofsige (e.g. Hildebrand 2540, London Ae style). This Dublin obverse, in turn, appears to have served as the model for the remainder of the die-cutter's work, and it explains why his subsequent dies all have a characteristic single curl or hook at the back of the neck.

The next thirteen obverse dies have a distinctive and consistent Dublin style, and are undoubtedly the work of a single artist. On four of them (HN4–7), probably the earliest, the head is more upright and the nose less protruding than on others. Three of these essay Sihtric's name and title, or corruptions of them, and the fourth copies the normal English Cnut legend. On the other nine dies (HN8–18) the bust has developed a rather aquiline pose, with the nose thrusting forward and the neck at an angle behind. Here the Cnut legend predominates, found on seven dies compared with only two for Sihtric. A further 'Cnut' die of the late Hiberno-Norse style which was transported to Scandinavia will be discussed below (see SII–2).

Chester-cut dies

One obverse and two reverse dies (HN19–20) used at Dublin were specially commissioned from the die-cutter at Chester by Stegn. The evidence is essentially that of style, supported by the forms of the inscriptions.

The Chester mint cut its own dies throughout the *Quatrefoil* issue.⁸ They are very distinctive, and evidently the work of one individual (see, for example, Plate 2, A–D).⁹ His style is not particularly neat – the lettering is large, thin and irregular, and the portrait also shows considerable variation in size and in the shape of the face. However, in certain respects he was very consistent. He almost invariably began the obverse legend at between 9 and 11 o'clock on the die-face, whereas other die-cutting centres adopted different norms and the Dublin die-cutter usually started the legend at around 12 or 6 o'clock. The bust is rendered in thin outline with the face raised in only light relief. The drapery on Chester dies splays out from a pellet which abuts the king's chin, and the crown, which has three fleurs with prominent central wedges, is often perched precariously on the front of the head. Within the group one can see a progressive development, or rather degeneration, in the style. On earlier dies the back of the neck is formed with a simple line and the drapery curls up behind it, while on later dies with smaller faces the back of the neck is often a double line.



Fig. 2. Line drawing of HN20 (source Boon, *Welsh Hoards*).

⁷ Probably one of the 'London Am' style, which has similar curls behind the neck; Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional die-production', p. 244.

⁸ The Chester style is described in Blackburn and Lyon, 'Regional die-production', pp. 234–6. The range of variation within the style can best be seen from illustrations in *SCBI*

Chester i 178–239 and Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, pp. 28–30, nos 2–172.

⁹ The illustrations are from the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard (A = 138, B = 39, C = 43, D = 2), courtesy of the National Museum of Wales.

Stegn's obverse (Fig. 2) is quite unlike the other Dublin dies and is plainly of Chester work – the legend begins at 10 o'clock, the form of the crown, the large lettering, and the pellet under the chin are classic Chester features. The two reverses are also typical of Chester work, with large spidery lettering and deep cusps to the quatrefoil. Within the stylistic sequence, the dies are relatively early, although not the earliest.

This obverse die was not simply a regular one taken from the Chester mint, for it carries the name of Sihtric, not Cnut. It must have been made specially, with the two reverses, for use at Dublin, presumably to the order of the moneyer Stegn. Interestingly the die-cutter has spelled the king's name SITERIC, rather than the form almost invariably used at Dublin, SIHTRC. A parallel for the use of an anglicised form can be found some twenty years earlier in the *Long Cross* issue, when a group of dies were commissioned from the London die-cutter, who spelt the name SIHTRIC.¹⁰ Furthermore, the Chester die-cutter was not familiar with the title customarily accorded to Sihtric (*rex Dyflin*), and he chose instead *rex Irum* which is never found elsewhere. *Irum* appears to be an inflected form of the Old English or Old Norse *Iras* (meaning 'the Irish').¹¹ The ethnic on coins would normally be in the genitive plural, i.e. *Ira* (king of the Irish), which is a position Sihtric clearly did not hold. But whether *Irum* was deliberately chosen as the dative plural of *Iras* in both Old English and Old Norse (king among the Irish), or was intended as merely a crude Latinisation to accompany the title *rex* we cannot be sure. The legend is, in any event, a curious combination of Latin and the vernacular.

It may seem remarkable that in the eleventh century one state should have obtained coinage dies from its neighbour. However, this was by no means an isolated incident. Dies were made of very high quality carbon steel, and a sophisticated technology was required to forge the hardened steel cap on to a softer shank.¹² They could soon fracture if badly made or of the wrong materials. English dies may have had a reputation for quality, for there are dozens of cases in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries of dies being taken from English mints for use in Scandinavia,¹³ and this had also occurred on a smaller scale between England and Dublin in each of the four preceding issues of Phase I. Interestingly, the movement was not only one-way, for in the *Long Cross* issue two York moneyers, Hildulf and Thurulf, used obverse dies made in Dublin, as did Colgrim also at York in the *Helmet* issue.¹⁴ In the 1020s a pair of Dublin dies was taken to establish a mint on the Isle of Man.¹⁵ Furthermore, a pair of Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* dies appears to have been taken from Dublin to a mint in Scandinavia where they were used with other dies (see below). Most of the cases just cited involve the removal of regular dies, and instances of dies being commissioned abroad with special inscriptions, as here, are much rarer. It had happened in the *Long Cross* type, as already mentioned, and in *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil* the mint of Lund obtained dies cut at Lincoln with the inscription +CNVT REX DÆNOR.¹⁶ Stegn's Chester dies therefore fit into an established context.

Hoard evidence

Only four of the thirty Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins appear to have been found in the British Isles, and probably none of these were discovered in Ireland itself. This is not

¹⁰ E.g. SCBI Helsinki 922 (+SIHTRIC REX DYFLIN), SCBI BM HN 28 (+SIHTRIC CVNVNC DYFL).

¹¹ I am grateful to George Boon for the initial suggestion as to its meaning and to Simon Keynes for advice on the form of the word. It is also discussed in Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, p. 4, n. 7.

¹² M. M. Archibald, J. R. S. Lang, and G. Milne, 'Four early medieval coin dies from the London waterfront', *NC* 155 (1995), 163–200, at 171–9.

¹³ M. Blackburn, 'English dies used in the Scandinavian imitative coinages', *Hikuin* 11 (1985), 101–24.

¹⁴ Blackburn, 'Hiberno-Norse coins of the *Helmet* type', p. 15.

¹⁵ M. Dolley, 'A Hiberno-Manx coinage of the eleventh century', *NC* 136 (1976), 75–84.

¹⁶ M. Blackburn, 'Do Cnut the Great's first coins as king of Denmark date from before 1018?', *Sigtuna Papers*, edited by K. Jonsson and B. Malmer (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 55–68.

untypical, since for our understanding of Phase I we are heavily reliant on the hoards from Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic. Fewer than a hundred of the seven or eight hundred extant coins of Phase I have come from insular hoards, and the majority of those are of the first issue, *Crux*. The reason is essentially the pattern of hoarding, with very few finds from the period 1000–1020 having been discovered in the British Isles.¹⁷ There are only five hoards from Ireland containing Phase I coins, and these all belong to the opening years of the coinage – deposited around the millennium – and the same is true of the only hoard with Hiberno-Norse coins from the Western Isles, Inch Kenneth. From the Isle of Man there are two hoards of the late 1020s or early 1030s, Park Llewellyn which contained one *Long Cross* coin of Phase I along with Phase II and Hiberno-Manx coins, and a shadowy hoard of c. 1786 from Ballacannell(?) which probably consisted mainly of Phase II coins, with at least one coin of Cnut of uncertain type, but it may have included some of Phase I as well.¹⁸ The Bryn Maelgwyn hoard from North Wales contained two Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins with two hundred English coins of the same type and two of the *Pointed Helmet* issue. Some 85% of the coins are of the Chester mint, and the hoard appears to represent a sum of money put together in Chester at the very end of *Quatrefoil* and the inception of *Pointed Helmet*. The two Hiberno-Norse coins may well have been circulating in Chester at that time.

Two other *Quatrefoil* coins appear to be insular finds and are die-duplicates (HN12c and d). They first surfaced in the late eighteenth century and were acquired by Samuel Tyssen (1756–1800), one of them at least via Richard Southgate (1729–95); this latter coin was illustrated by Pinkerton in 1789.¹⁹ One is now in the British Museum and the other is in Glasgow. In 1958 Dolley and Metcalf postulated the existence of a major hoard of English *Quatrefoil* coins found in the 1780s, and dominated by Chester and the Severn Valley mints.²⁰ They suggested that it was found in the West Midlands, and probably at Kingsholm, near Gloucester, where a large hoard of Anglo-Saxon pennies was discovered c. 1780, although that provenance cannot be proved. When they were writing, no Hiberno-Norse coins were known to have been found in England or Wales, and it is not surprising, therefore, that although many specimens from this *Quatrefoil* hoard had been acquired by Southgate and Tyssen, they shrank from associating the two Hiberno-Norse coins with it. In the light of the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard, a stray find of a Phase I *Helmet* coin from Torksey, Lincs.,²¹ and two Phase V pennies from a grave at Trowbridge, Wilts.,²² it is now quite plausible that the two *Quatrefoil* Dublin coins did come from this West Midlands hoard. If so this would support an early dating for the Hiberno-Norse issue, since Lyon has shown that the hoard was composed predominantly of heavy (i.e. early) coins.²³

Eight hoards from Scandinavia and the Eastern Baltic are recorded as having contained Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins (see List of Finds below), and most of the other specimens in Scandinavian or Russian collections without provenance will have been local finds. The earliest of the hoards is that from Kelstrup, Denmark, deposited after c. 1023, with an English element ending with coins of the Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* type. The Enner hoard, with three specimens, was deposited after 1029.

¹⁷ Full references to the hoards cited here can be found in M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A revised check-list of coin hoards from the British Isles, c. 500–1100', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, pp. 291–313.

¹⁸ M. Dolley, 'The pattern of Viking-Age coin hoards from the Isle of Man', *SCMB* 1975, 296–302, 337–40. I am grateful to Kristin Bornholdt for discussing this hoard with me.

¹⁹ J. Pinkerton, *An Essay on Medals*, second edition, 2 vols (London, 1789), II, pl., no. 13.

²⁰ R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'Cnut's *Quatrefoil*

type in English cabinets of the eighteenth century' *BNJ* 29 (1958), 69–81.

²¹ 'Coin Register 1994', no. 236.

²² P. H. Robinson, 'Coins, jetons and tokens', in A. H. Graham and S. M. Davies, *Excavations in the Town Centre of Trowbridge, Wiltshire 1977 and 1986–1988* (Wessex Archaeology Report 2, 1993), pp. 78–81, at 79–80.

²³ C. S. S. Lyon, 'Variations in currency in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Mints, Dies and Currency*, edited by R. A. G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 101–20, at p. 111.

Date of the Hiberno-Norse issue

There are a number of factors that point to the Dublin *Quatrefoil* issue being contemporary with its English prototype, and to it being a relatively short-lived issue that had ceased before the type's withdrawal in England. The most direct evidence is the use of dies cut at Chester, and these appear to belong fairly early in the stylistic sequence. As we have seen, the first of the dies made by the Dublin engraver also suggests continuity with the preceding *Last Small Cross* type. As far as the find evidence is concerned, the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard again shows that it is broadly contemporary with the English issue, and if as seems likely two specimens can be attributed to the Kingsholm hoard of c. 1780, this also implies an early date within the issue.

The *Quatrefoil* type was replaced at Dublin by the new coins of Dolley Phase II, in what should be seen as a major reform of the coinage. The Hiberno-Norse monetary system was reaching maturity, so that they were able to stop copying the economically dominant coinage of their English neighbours and establish their own distinctive 'national' coinage. The fact that in so doing they chose a design which was essentially an earlier one of Æthelred II may not have occurred to them, for the *Long Cross* type had also been the Hiberno-Norsemen's largest and most successful issue a generation earlier. For them it was an entirely appropriate choice. The coins of Phase II are generally distinguished from the Phase I *Long Cross* issue by the presence of a small pellet in each quarter of the reverse. However, it now seems that some coins with pellets on the reverse in the best and most literate style and of high weight belong to Phase I, as shown by the Everlöf hoard from Skåne.²⁴ The exact division of the pelleted coins as between Phases I and II is still somewhat uncertain, but it seems clear that those of lighter weight with degraded inscriptions belong to the later group.

This has a bearing on the date of the Phase II reform, for there are two Scandinavian hoards with English elements ending in *Quatrefoil*, that contain Hiberno-Norse coins of Phase II with degraded inscriptions. The first is the Hårr hoard from south west Norway, containing some 250 English and five Hiberno-Norse coins of which three were of Phase II.²⁵ Apart from these, the latest coins are English *Quatrefoil* pennies. The other hoard is that from Hemängen (Barjby), Gotland, which has a *terminus post quem* of 1024.²⁶ These finds suggest that the *Quatrefoil* issue at Dublin was replaced by new coins of Phase II before the issue had run its course in England. As we have seen, a relatively short period for the Dublin *Quatrefoil* coinage would accord well with its size, compared with the *Last Small Cross* type.

Metrology and fineness

The late Anglo-Saxon monetary system was highly sophisticated, involving periodic recoinages and each issue being struck to a series of weight standards that stepped down, only to be increased again at the beginning of the next issue. The Hiberno-Norse coinage appears to have been quite different, for while it outwardly mirrored that of England, the system was more primitive. The Dublin mint was concerned to strike coins that would be equally as

²⁴ Discussed in M. A. S. Blackburn, Review of *CNS* 3.4, in *BNJ* 58 (1988), 167–9.

²⁵ K. Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway* (Oslo, 1976), p. 147, no. 78.

²⁶ *CNS* 1.3.34. This hoard led Dolley in some early papers to date the introduction of Phase II to c. 1015, i.e. before the *Quatrefoil* issue. Various parcels of this large hoard were found at different times in the same field and were treated by Sternberger as separate hoards. One such parcel contained a Hiberno-Norse coin of the degraded variety of Phase II, but no

English coins later than *Last Small Cross*. He revised the date to c. 1020 when preparing the text of his *British Museum Sylloge*, but the catalogue and plates must already have been completed, for they carry the earlier dating. The republication of the Hemängen hoard in the *CNS* series establishes its *terminus post quem* as 1024. In a way Dolley was originally correct to think that some *Long Cross* coins with reverse pellets were of earlier date, but at the time this was based on mistaken evidence.

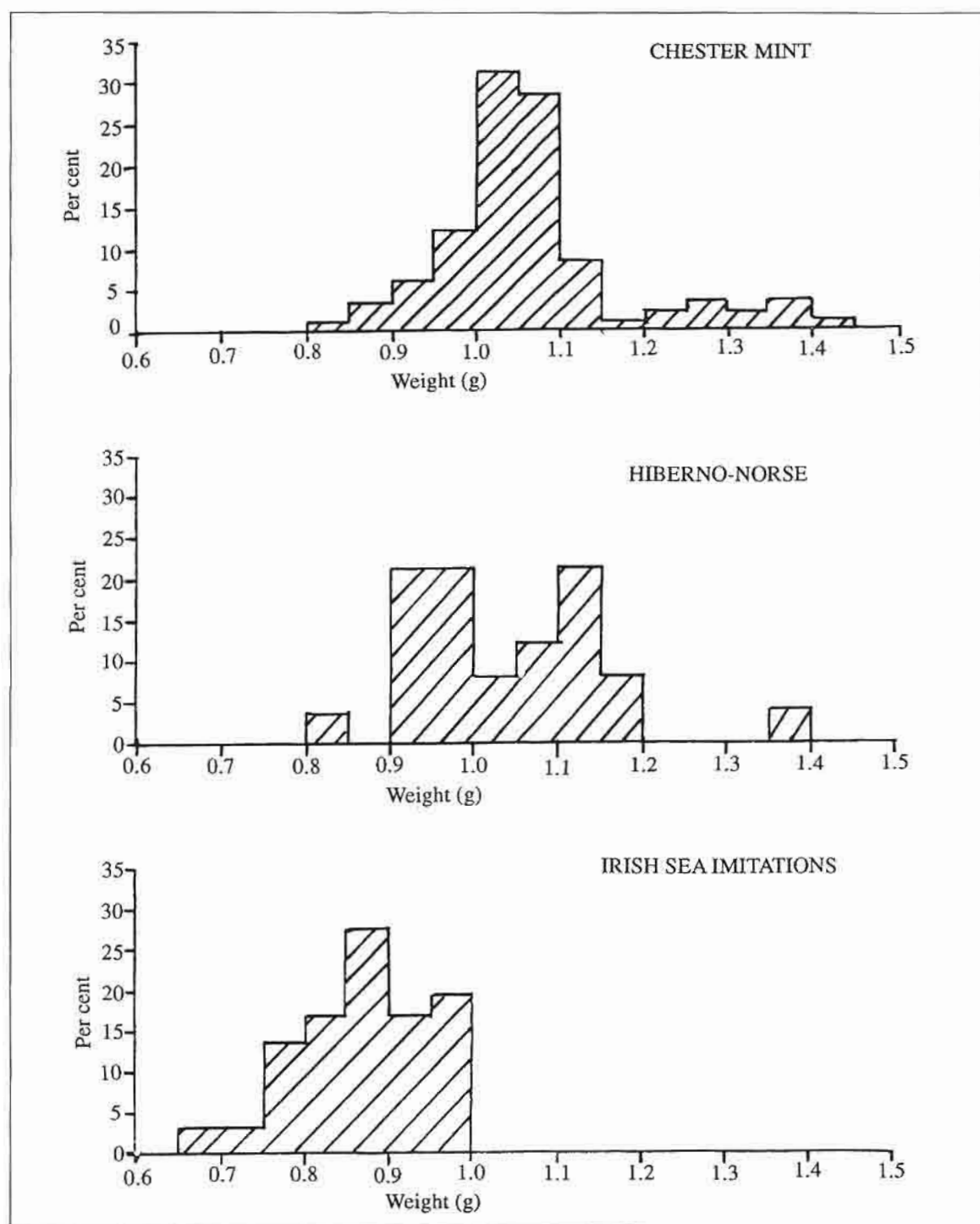


Fig. 3. Weight distributions of *Quatrefoil* coins: a. Chester mint (179 coins, mean 1.06g); b. Hiberno-Norse (24 coins, mean 1.03g); c. Irish Sea imitations (36 coins, mean 0.87g).

acceptable as the Anglo-Saxon ones in Dublin itself and in international trade. The weights of each of the five Phase I issues broadly mirror the average weights of their prototypes, which over the period c. 995–1020 were generally falling. The standard at Dublin was never allowed to fall far out of line with the current weight of the English penny. Petersson looked at pairs of die-duplicates to see how accurately the Anglo-Saxon moneyers controlled the weights. He found that over 70% of die-duplicates had weights of within 0.06g of each other.²⁷ In a similar calculation based on Hiberno-Norse coins of Phase I, my own analysis indicates that about 40% of die-duplicates fall within the same limit, the results being moderately consistent over each of the five issues. This indicates that the Dublin moneyers did not control the coin weights nearly so accurately as their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, but it confirms that they were none the less aiming at an approximate standard.

The weights of the *Quatrefoil* coins follow the general pattern just outlined. Among the Anglo-Saxon coins five distinct and successive standards have been identified, of roughly c. 1.40g, c. 1.30g, c. 1.20g, c. 1.10g, and c. 1.00g.²⁸ The distribution of a sample of Chester coins in Scandinavian collections is shown in Fig. 3a,²⁹ their weights averaging 1.06g. The predominantly late coins in the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard are mostly struck to the last standard and have an average weight of 1.01g. The Hiberno-Norse coins (Fig. 3b) cover the same general weight range, though omitting the higher standards, and their average (1.03g) is comparable to that of the Chester coins.

The fineness of some 55 *Quatrefoil* coins of Chester has been analysed³⁰ – more than for any other single mint and issue. They show remarkable consistency in their fineness, with the great majority of coins falling in the range 94–96% ‘silver’ (i.e. Ag + Au + Pb). There was no appreciable difference between the products of different moneyers, as has been observed at other mints. A study of the trace elements present does not suggest that Chester’s source of silver was any different from other Anglo-Saxon mints, and it must largely have consisted of recycled coinage. After re-refinement a mixture of copper and brass probably derived from scrap metal was added to adjust the alloy to the appropriate standard.

Only two Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins have been analysed – those from the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard – as part of a wider study of the metal content of Hiberno-Norse coinage.³¹ These contained 94% and 97% ‘silver’, and were just as fine as their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Nor is there any appreciable difference in the proportions of trace elements present in the Hiberno-Norse and English coins, either in the *Quatrefoil* type or in Phase I generally, and this has led to the suggestion that English coin may have been reminted at Dublin without re-refining it.

Scandinavian imitations struck from a Hiberno-Norse die

Two remarkable coins in the collection of the Hermitage Museum (Plate 1, SI1–2) have a *Quatrefoil* obverse in the name of Cnut that is of impeccable Hiberno-Norse style, and the die concerned was clearly cut at Dublin during the later phase of the issue. It is a shock, then, to turn the coins over and find that they have two different reverses that are very crude and entirely illiterate forms of the *Small Cross* type. These are the work of a quite different die-

²⁷ Figures taken from H. B. A. Petersson, *Anglo-Saxon Currency* (Lund, 1969), p. 254, table 49a, and see pp. 143–6.

²⁸ Blackburn and Lyon, ‘Regional die production’, p. 254. The standards are not all evident from a simple distribution such as Fig. 3a here, but are identified from a combination of different forms of evidence.

²⁹ Based on 179 well preserved coins in the Stockholm systematic and Copenhagen collections.

³⁰ J. P. Northover, ‘Analyses of coins from the Bryn Maelgwyn and Pant-yr-eglwys hoards’, in Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, pp. 33–35; D. M. Metcalf and J. P. Northover, ‘Interpreting the alloy of the later Anglo-Saxon coinage’, *BNI* 56 (1986), 35–63.

³¹ R. Heslip and P. Northover, ‘The alloy of the Hiberno-Norse coinage’, *Sigtuna Papers*, edited by Jonsson and Malmer, pp. 103–111.

cutter from that of the obverse. On one of the coins (SI1) he did not understand the design, for it omits the inner circle that is otherwise invariably present, and the pseudo-epigraphy is small and thin, perhaps engraved rather than punched. The other coin (SI2) has larger, thicker lettering that is little more than a series of strokes.

The coins have no provenance, but it is likely that they came to the collection during the nineteenth century and are finds from Russia or the Baltic States. The fact that they have sequential inventory numbers does not necessarily mean that they arrived at the Museum together, for these numbers were probably assigned more recently. No other coin from this obverse die has been published, and while there could be specimens in the Stockholm collection Professor Dolley and I were not aware of any.

Where were these two coins produced? Although the obverse dies are of good Dublin style, the reverses are much cruder than anything found in Phase I. Such reverse dies are however frequently found in the Scandinavian imitative series. Mules between types are unknown in the Hiberno-Norse Phase I coinage, but they are common in the Scandinavian series. The weights of the two coins (1.28g and 1.35g) would be quite acceptable for Scandinavian imitations, but they do not fit well into the distribution of the Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* issue (Fig. 3b) in which all but one of the coins fall below 1.20g. On balance it is much more likely that these two coins were struck in Scandinavia than at Dublin. In due course, when the Stockholm imitations are published, it may be possible to find a die-link to confirm the attribution.

In 1974 Dolley published a *Quatrefoil* coin (SI3) purporting to be by the Dublin moneyer Færeman which die-links via the obverse into a large Scandinavian die-chain.³² The obverse die, which is of Lincoln style, had been taken to Scandinavia from an English mint. The reverse has hitherto been regarded as a careful Scandinavian copy of a Hiberno-Norse coin. It is harder to recognise the style of a reverse die and to be categorical about its origin because the design is simpler to copy than that of a portrait obverse. However, the workmanship of this 'Færeman' reverse is very similar to that of regular Dublin coins – note especially the shape and weight of the quatrefoil, the blobs on the points in each quarter and the letter forms – and there is nothing particular to indicate that the die was a copy made in Scandinavia. As we now know that a *Quatrefoil* obverse found its way from Dublin to a Scandinavian mint, it is quite possible that this reverse was also Hiberno-Norse; indeed it could well have been the original pair to that obverse die. This would be the first recorded instance of Hiberno-Norse dies being taken to Scandinavia, but as indicated above we know of several that passed between Dublin and English mints, and many English dies went to Scandinavia, so that this is just another piece in an ever developing and complex puzzle.

The Irish Sea imitations

In 1981 a small group of four *Quatrefoil* coins was found at Pant-yr-eglwys on the Great Orme in north Wales. Three of these fused together were regular issues of the Chester and Hereford mints.³³ The fourth piece was more enigmatic, but proved to belong to a distinctive series of imitations that was made in the British Isles, though not apparently at any of the known mints.

³² M. Dolley, 'Dansk efterligning af en samtidig Irsk gengivelse af en Engelsk penning fra Knud den Store', *NNUM* 1974, 138–42. The die-chain to which it links is Chain D in C. S. S. Lyon, G. Van der Meer, and R. H. M. Dolley, 'Some Scandinavian coins in the names of Æthelræd, Cnut, and Harthacnut attributed by Hildebrand to English mints', *BNJ* 30 (1961), 235–51.

³³ Boon suggests that these coins were in the course of

'being melted' and had therefore lost their premium as coined money, implying that the hoard was deposited after *Quatrefoil* was obsolete (Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, p. 13). However, small groups of fused coins are not uncommon, particularly as surface finds, and it is probable that they had been in a fire, perhaps when an original building was burnt or as a result of modern stubble burning.



Fig. 4. Line drawing of IS18 (source Boon, *Welsh Hoards*).

The main criterion for recognising these imitations is stylistic, but in many cases the identification is supported by blundered legends or low weights. The majority imitate coins of Chester, but they fail to capture the style of the Chester die-cutter accurately. The portrait on the imitations (Fig. 4) is composed of thin, often curved lines. The drapery consists of two forward projecting lines, and three parallel lines curving back over the shoulder, often extending beyond the line of the neck as on genuine coins of Chester. The crown tends to follow the curve of the brow, and the portrait is generally less sculptured and less angular than on Chester coins. The obverse legend can begin anywhere between 6 and 12 o'clock – on Chester pieces, as we have seen, it starts almost invariably between 9 and 11 o'clock. The most objective feature of the imitations is the use of a + for the x in *rex*, which occurs on all the imitative obverse dies, but never on ones from Chester.

Stewart Lyon identified this as a distinctive group during the course of his work in Stockholm in the early 1960s, and he then thought that it might be of Irish origin. Subsequently, when we came to prepare our joint paper on the *Quatrefoil* styles, the nature and extent of the group became apparent. Some forty-three specimens have been identified to date, including twenty-one in the Stockholm cabinet, and still more would no doubt be found there if a systematic search of the Swedish hoards were made. These forty-three coins were struck from twenty obverse and reverse dies, which implies a similar survival rate and an issue of comparable size to that of the Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* type.³⁴

On all the obverse dies the legend renders, or attempts to render, Cnut's name and English title, although on only six is it spelt without error. Half the reverse dies bear a Chester mint-signature or a recognisable version of it. The remaining ten dies are so garbled as to be meaningless, although Gruber and Keary found the letters RIC on one and tried to make Richborough an Anglo-Saxon mint on the strength of it.³⁵ The names of ten moneyers are found on the coins in varying degrees of accuracy (Alesi, Ceolnoth, Croc, Godwine, Gunleof, Leofsig, Leofwig, Leofwine, Snel, and Swartinc), and all of them are known moneyers of Chester in this type. Only five of the reverse dies are thoroughly garbled. By and large one is impressed by the skill and stylistic consistency of the die-cutter's work.

There are a few die-links within this group, including some between literate and semi-literate dies (IS5–7). However, there are no die-links into the regular Chester coinage or with Hiberno-Norse coins.

Metrology and fineness

The weight pattern of the imitative group differs from that of the English and Hiberno-Norse coinages. As we have seen, the lowest standard to which regular Chester coins were struck was c. 1.00g and individual specimens rarely weigh less than 0.90g. The Hiberno-Norse

³⁴ Using the same formula as in n. 5, it is estimated that there were originally some 34 obverse dies and 34 reverse dies; the ranges implied by the 95% confidence limits are 50

to 24 obverse and reverse dies. About 74% of the original coinage would have been struck by the surviving dies.

³⁵ *BMC* Cnut 491.

Quatrefoil coins mostly fall between 1.20g and 0.90g (Fig. 3b). Yet the imitations all weigh less than 1.00g and they range down to 0.70g (Fig. 3c). Their mean weight is 0.87g, which compares with 1.03g for the Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins. The analysis of die-duplicates shows that in striking to a particular weight they were slightly less accurate than the Dubliners (only 36% have weights within 0.06g of each other), yet the way in which the histogram cuts off at 1.00g. suggests that heavier coins were culled after weighing them individually. These imitations, then, bear all the hallmarks of an issue that was struck deliberately lighter than their prototype in order to make a profit.

Although the weights may be unduly light, the fineness of the metal does not appear to have been tampered with, to judge from the composition of the only specimen that has been analysed (IS18, from the Pant-yr-eglwys hoard).³⁶ Not only is its 'silver' content (94% Ag + Au + Pb) comparable to that of both English and Hiberno-Norse coins, but the proportions of trace elements are similar as well, suggesting that the imitative mint was recycling metal from contemporary coins without refining or adulterating it.

Find provenances

As with the Hiberno-Norse issue, the great majority of the surviving specimens have been found in Scandinavia or the Slav lands. Eleven coins come from identified Continental hoards. A further sixteen can be assumed to be Swedish finds from their presence in the Stockholm cabinet, and several others can be shown to have come from the Northern Lands by the presence of peck marks on them. Four of the hoards were deposited in the 1020s (Kelstrup, *terminus post quem* 1023; Djuped, *t.p.q.* 1024; Nesbøen, *t.p.q.* 1024; Sund, *t.p.q.* 1027), confirming that the imitations are broadly contemporary with the *Quatrefoil* issue in England, and that they reached Scandinavia soon after they had been produced.

One specimen was found in north Wales (IS18) – a significant provenance – and two others (IS4, 5a) look as though they may have been old finds from the British Isles since they are entirely flat and unpecked. One of them was in the collection of Richard Southgate (d. 1795) and the other was a pre-1838 acquisition of the British Museum. They may derive from the major hoard of *Quatrefoil* coins discovered in the 1780s in the west Midlands, possibly at Kingsholm, Glos., though they could be from some other find such as the 1786 hoard from Ballacannell(?) in the Isle of Man about which we know little.

Where were the imitations minted?

There are a number of clues to the origin of this group. The one secure find-provenance from the British Isles – from Pant-yr-eglwys, on the Great Orme – is powerful evidence for establishing that it is an insular rather than Scandinavian group. The flow of coinage in the late tenth and eleventh centuries was overwhelmingly towards the Continent, for while some 60,000 Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Norse coins have been found in Northern Europe, less than twenty Scandinavian coins of this period are known to have come from British finds.³⁷ These few finds are all from southern and eastern England, with the exception of three from islands off north-west Scotland (two from Shetland and one from North Uist). Thus the finding of a specimen of this rare imitative group in north Wales raises a strong presumption that it was struck in the British Isles. The reverse inscriptions provide conclusive support for this view. Fifteen of the twenty dies copy the names of Chester moneyers and/or the Chester mint-signature. The coins available to the die-cutter as models must have been preponderantly ones

³⁶ Northover, 'Analyses of coins', p. 35, no. 601/4.

³⁷ M. M. Archibald, 'Against the tide: coin movement from Scandinavia to the British Isles in the Viking Age', *NNF-Nytt*

1991:1, 13–22; *idem*, 'Skandinavisk Ethelred-imitation funnen i England', *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* 1993, 148–50.

of the Chester mint, and that could only have been the case in north-west England or around the Irish Sea.

It is unlikely that they were produced by a forger operating within the Anglo-Saxon kingdom, for the scale of production is really too substantial, comparable to one of the smaller to medium-sized Anglo-Saxon mints. Moreover, the rate at which they reached Scandinavia suggests that they penetrated the currency circulating in the Irish Sea area very effectively, although not apparently that of Chester itself to judge by their absence from the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard. On balance this group of imitations looks like the product of a rather well organised, if anonymous, 'mint' operating consistently over a fair period of time (i.e. probably a few years, rather than merely weeks).

The imitations do not apparently belong to the Dublin series. The dies are in a quite different style, and must be the work of a different die-cutter, from that of the Hiberno-Norse *Quatrefoil* coins considered above. They could theoretically have been successors, but two other factors militate against this. The weight pattern evinced by the imitations is quite different from that of the orthodox Dublin coins, in particular the apparent culling of the heaviest coins from the imitative series. The reverse inscriptions are also quite unlike those found in the Dublin coinage, where among *Quatrefoil* coins the only literate legends have a Dublin mint-signature and the name of a Dublin moneyer. Earlier in Phase I, when one does encounter direct copies of English mint- and moneyer-names, they reflect a wide range of mints, with perhaps some bias towards those in north-west and south-west England, typical of the coins that would have been present in Dublin. The finds from hoards and excavations in Dublin also demonstrate the mixed nature of its currency. The exclusive use of Chester models therefore points to a source for the imitations that must have been much closer to Chester itself. But where can this have been?

Some years ago Michael Dolley identified a coinage similar to that of Hiberno-Norse Phase II but which appears to have been struck on the Isle of Man commencing c. 1025.³⁸ Might not our *Quatrefoil* group have been its forerunner? The answer seems to be no. The Manx coinage was started with a pair of Phase II dies transferred from the Dublin mint in the mid or late 1020s, and the series is composed of extremely crude copies of that one pair of dies. They are totally different from the very sophisticated imitations that we are considering. Moreover, the Manx coins have rarely been found outside the Isle of Man, which evidently represented quite a closed circulation pool. More than 90% of the known find provenances of Hiberno-Manx coins are from various hoards from Man, and the remainder come from Scandinavia. In the case of the 'Chester' imitations the proportions are reversed, with 90% coming from the Baltic region, a difference which cannot be accounted for merely by their slightly earlier date. The absence of these imitations from Manx hoards such as Park Llewellyn, deposited c. 1030 and containing Hiberno-Norse and earlier Anglo-Saxon coins, suggests that they were not minted on Man. Even if the large eighteenth-century hoard from Ballacannell(?) might possibly have included the odd specimen of this imitative group – for which there is no evidence – they could not have been present in the sort of proportion that one would expect if this coinage had been indigenous to the island. However, the Manx coinage does show that a Norse colony other than that at Dublin could support a mint, and the differences in their distributions need to be explained in terms of trade patterns and the local function of coinage.

In 1980 Dolley published a small group of imitations of Cnut's last type, *Short Cross*, issued c. 1030–35.³⁹ Four coins sharing a common obverse die occurred in the 1874 Kirk Andreas hoard from the Isle of Man. No other specimens have been identified in either insular or Scandinavian hoards, and in the absence of other evidence Dolley tentatively attributed the group to the Isle of Man. The case is not as strong as that for the main Manx series, which has

³⁸ Dolley, 'A Hiberno-Manx coinage'.

³⁹ M. Dolley, 'Some insular(?) imitations from the 1030s of contemporary English pence of Cnut', *NCirc* 1980, 86–8.

been found in larger numbers and in several hoards from the island. The *Short Cross* imitations could have been brought there as a parcel from elsewhere in the region, but from where? It could not have been Dublin which was producing its distinctive coinage of Phases II and III, nor was it necessarily from the same 'mint' as the *Quatrefoil* imitations that we are considering, for while there are obvious parallels there is a significant difference in that the four reverse dies copy coins of London and Winchester, not Chester.

The discovery of one specimen of the *Quatrefoil* group at Pant-yr-eglwys on Great Orme raises the question whether it might not originate from North Wales. The native Welsh are generally regarded as an essentially coinless society, and the few early medieval coin finds have a coastal distribution which may imply losses resulting from Scandinavian influence or activity.⁴⁰ The nature and extent of Scandinavian presence in Wales is difficult to assess.⁴¹ The only area of significant settlement appears to be in Pembrokeshire. A number of coastal features in the north, including Orme's Head, have Scandinavian names, but these may imply navigation points or staging posts rather than a permanent presence.⁴² The island of Anglesey is perhaps the exception, with an early tenth-century settlement recently discovered at Llanbedrgoch, and some documentary evidence for raids being mounted from the island in the eleventh century. Overall, however, while an origin in north Wales for the group cannot be excluded, there is little on which to build a case.

Of other possible sites around the Irish Sea, Cumbria lay on the fringe of Cnut's jurisdiction and had a significant Norse element in its culture, having been settled in the later ninth or early tenth centuries from the Western Isles and Ireland.⁴³ Scandinavian influence is seen particularly in the place-names and remarkable tradition of ornamental sculpture, which is *sui generis* but borrows elements from both Northumbria and Ireland.⁴⁴ Cumbria lay athwart the difficult but important Pennine routes between York and Dublin, but the community is also thought to have participated in a wider trade with Man, the Western Isles and Scandinavia. However, if this area fell under the influence of any particular mint it was York rather than Chester, as can be demonstrated by the Halton Moor hoard of Cnut's *Pointed Helmet* coins. For this reason alone, Cumbria cannot be a prime candidate for the location of the imitative mint.

Closer to Chester, the north-western end of the Wirral peninsula is another area of strong Scandinavian settlement, as demonstrated by the place-names, stone crosses and other artefacts.⁴⁵ The harbour at Meols had supported an active trading site since perhaps the fifth or sixth century, and prolific finds of coins and other artefacts were made in the nineteenth century as the shore eroded.⁴⁶ It has been argued that the North Wirral enjoyed a separate political identity as a Viking enclave, with Meols operating as a beach market 'outside the official orbit of the port of Chester'.⁴⁷ Of the six coins of Cnut found there four were of the

⁴⁰ D. W. Dykes, *Anglo-Saxon Coins in the National Museum of Wales* (Cardiff, 1976), esp. p. 26; Boon, *Welsh Hoards*, p. 18, nn. 53 and 57 (note the suggestion that a levy of a penny per head on the Welsh in 987 implies that they did have coin). Boon also raises the possibility (p. 14) that the group of *Quatrefoil* imitations may have been a native Welsh response to the need for coin.

⁴¹ H. R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 147–51.

⁴² G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian place-names of the Irish Sea province', *Viking Treasure from the North West*, pp. 31–42, at pp. 31–2.

⁴³ Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain*, pp. 65.

⁴⁴ N. J. N. Edwards, 'The Vikings in North-West England: the archaeological evidence', *Viking Treasure from the North West*, pp. 41–62.

⁴⁵ D. Griffiths, 'The maritime economy of the Chester region in the Anglo-Saxon period', *Where Deva Spreads her Wizard Stream. Trade and the Port of Chester*, edited by P. Carrington

(Chester, 1996), pp. 49–60; J. D. Bu'lock, *Pre-Conquest Cheshire 383–1066, A History of Cheshire III* (Chester, 1972), pp. 50–8, 67–70; A. T. Thacher, 'Anglo-Saxon Cheshire', *VCH Cheshire I*, edited by B. E. Harris and A. T. Thacher (Oxford, 1987), pp. 237–92.

⁴⁶ M. Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon coins from Meols Sands', *Trans. Historic. Soc. Lancashire Cheshire* 113 (1961), 197–201; D. M. Metcalf, 'Some finds of medieval coins from Scotland and the north of England', *BNJ* 30 (1960), 88–123, at 96–7 and 111–14.

⁴⁷ D. Griffiths, 'The coastal trading ports of the Irish Sea', *Viking Treasure from the North West. The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context*, edited by J. Graham-Campbell (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 63–72, at pp. 67–9; Griffiths, 'The maritime economy', at pp. 54 and 56, arguing that the limited independence of the North Wirral dates from Æthelræd's grant of land there to Ingimund in the early tenth century and continued at least up to the Norman Conquest.

Chester mint, including two of the *Quatrefoil* type; one of these is a regular Chester coin,⁴⁸ but the other is now lost and we cannot tell whether it was an official or imitative piece. Of the various possible locations that have been considered for the 'imitative mint' around the Irish Sea, the Wirral emerges as the strongest candidate, but a firm attribution will have to await the discovery of further finds from the Irish Sea littoral.

Conclusions

This paper has considered two very distinct and compact series of coins of the late 1010s or early 1020s that appear to have been produced on different sides of the Irish Sea, and it is instructive to draw comparisons between them. They were struck on similar scales, each involving some twenty to forty dies, comparable to the number that would have been used at one of the smaller to medium-sized Anglo-Saxon mints, such as Leicester, Bedford, or Hereford.⁴⁹ The die-cutting in each group was of a competent standard, even allowing for the errors and lapses into illiteracy, for such is common in an imitative series where the inscriptions do not have to convey information but merely look authentic. Each of the die-cutters developed his own distinctive style.

One of the groups is clearly the royal coinage of the king of Dublin, for twenty-one of the thirty coins bear either the name of Sihtric or that of the Dublin mint and/or a Dublin moneyer, whereas only one or two coins reproduce the name of an Anglo-Saxon mint. A similar pattern is found in the succeeding Phase II coinage of Dublin. By contrast, in the other imitative *Quatrefoil* group thirty-two of the forty-three coins reproduce the names of Chester moneyers and the Chester mint-signature, while the remaining coins have meaningless reverse inscriptions. If, as seems likely, the die-cutter was copying the coins that were most readily available to him he must have been based somewhere that was close to Chester and dominated economically by it. Of the various sites considered Meols on the Wirral fits the criteria best, but the attribution is far from certain.

The weight distributions of the two series suggest that their issuers had a fundamentally different approach to the coinage. The Dublin coins were struck to a loose standard that is similar to that of contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins, and it would seem that they were intended to stand on a par with them economically and be equally acceptable in regional or international trade. By contrast the producer of the light-weight Irish Sea imitations appears to have been aiming to make a profit by passing them off in exchange for the better Anglo-Saxon prototypes. If so one might expect that they were intended to be put into circulation in England, and in Chester in particular, yet the evidence of the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard suggests that this did not happen to any significant extent.⁵⁰

The finds of the two series are predominantly from Scandinavia and the southern Baltic, in marked contrast to those of the Hiberno-Manx coinage. Admittedly, a decade later when the Manx coins were being produced the export of coinage to the Northern Lands had begun to decline, but Hiberno-Norse coins of Phases II and III have none the less been found in substantial numbers, unlike the Manx ones.⁵¹ This suggests that the Dublin coins and the Irish Sea imitations were successful in entering international trade to a degree that the Hiberno-Manx coins were not. Quite why this should be is a puzzle, for the recent archaeological finds from Peel indicate that

⁴⁸ *SCBI* Chester 195.

⁴⁹ Based on the die estimates in D. M. Metcalf, 'Continuity and change in English monetary history c. 973–1066. Part 2', *BNJ* 51 (1981), 52–90, at 78–85.

⁵⁰ If they were deliberately excluded from circulation in Chester or elsewhere, this cannot have been merely by weight since a number of the lighter coins in the Bryn Maelgwyn hoard fall into the same weight range as the imitations.

⁵¹ The Stockholm collection contains some 53 coins of Phase II and 18 of Phase III, but only one Hiberno-Manx coin. To make valid comparisons one ought to look at the survival rates of each coinage, but the necessary die studies have not been done. None the less, among Scandinavian finds I would be surprised if they did not show a much lower survival rate for Hiberno-Manx coins than Hiberno-Norse.

the Isle of Man was not isolated from trade, although there may have been a difference in scale. Nor is it likely that Manx coins were discriminated against and excluded from circulation, except perhaps in Dublin itself which seems to have had a well regulated monetary economy. The explanation is likely to lie in aspects of the Irish Sea economy that we can barely glimpse, but for which coins are one of our most promising sources of evidence.

APPENDIX 1: A CORPUS OF THE HIBERNO-NORSE *QUATREFOIL* COINS

In this and the following Appendix each die combination is given a separate number. The second column assigns the dies letters, uppercase for obverses and lowercase for reverses. After the obverse inscription in column three a number in brackets indicates the position at which the legend begins, expressed as hours of the clock. Where several specimens from the same dies are known, these are indicated by a., b., c., etc. Lists of finds and references follows the Appendices.

Early-style dies

HN1. Aa	+ÆDELREC RE+ ANI (8 o'clock)	+EL DOI YIVI REI Same rev. die as 8. a. Stockholm; ex Sigsarva hoard. 1.11g/17.1gr. 270°.
HN2. Bb	+CNVT REX ANGLORVI (1)	+LE OFZ IGL VND (ND ligatured) Same obv. die as 3. a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 2541). 1.08g/16.7gr.
HN3. Bc	Same obv. die as 2.	+HE HEN NIO HEH Same rev. die as 9. a. Cardiff; ex Bryn Maelgwyn hoard (Boon 1986, no. 203). 1.02g/15.8gr. 90° 93% Ag (Boon 1986, p. 35).
HN4. Cd	+ZIHTRC RE+ DYFLIM (4)	+ZPI II-DE IMO DYFL a. St Petersburg, Inv. Y-1075 (Dolley 1963, p. 7, and pl. 3, no. 17, where the moneyer was read as TPIOBE, based on an inspection of photographs not of the coin itself). 1.13g/17.5gr. 0°.
HN5. De	+INTRC PI+ DIFILNIO (6)	+NE RIN ONL PVE Same rev. die as 6. a. Copenhagen (<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen v 55); ex Enner hoard (Roth 1909, p. 126). 1.19g/18.4gr. 180°.
HN6. Ee	+IHTRC DI+ DIFILNO (6)	Same rev. die as 5. a. Stockholm; Glammunds I hoard. 1.07g/16.5gr.
HN7. Ff	+CNVT RE+ ANGLORV (7)	+LE PER DNL NND a. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Cnut 2275). 1.08g/16.7gr. 90°. b. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Cnut 2613). 0.94g/14.5gr. 90°.

Later-style dies

HN8. Ga	+CNVT RE+ ANGLORV (1)	Same rev. die as 1. a. Copenhagen (<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen v 56B); ex Lübeck hoard. 1.17g/18.1gr. 90°.
HN9. Hc	+CNVT RE+ ANGLOR (6)	Same rev. die as 3. Same obv. die as 10. a. Helsinki (<i>SCBI</i> Helsinki 942); ex Nousiainen hoard. 0.51g/7.9gr. (fragment, broken) 270°.
HN10. Hg	Same obv. die as 9.	+IR ELD NEL NMO a. Copenhagen (<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen v 56); ex Enner hoard. 1.10g/17.0gr. 0°. b. Belfast (<i>SCBI</i> Ulster Museum ii 36); Glendining sale 14 March 1973, lot 112; ex Stryjewo Wielkie hoard. 0.93g/14.3gr. 240°.
HN11. Ih	+CNVT RE+ ANGLOR• (12)	+CL DON OLYI ANI a. Stockholm; no provenance. 1.35g/20.8gr. 0°.
HN12. Ji	+NIVT RE+ ANGLORV (1)	+FE REN NMO DIF Same rev. die as 13. a. Stockholm (Hildebrand Cnut 283). 1.10g/16.9gr. 150°. b. Copenhagen (<i>SCBI</i> Copenhagen v 52); ex Enner hoard. 0.96g/14.8gr. 300°. c. London (<i>SCBI</i> BM H-N 61; Ruding 1817, III, p. 300 and IV, pl. 28); ex Tyssen 1802; ?ex Kingsholm hoard c. 1780. 1.10g/16.9gr. 180°. d. Glasgow; ex Coats; ex Wigan; ex Cureton; ex Durrant 1504; ex Tyssen duplicates 92; ex Southgate; ?ex Kingsholm hoard c. 1780. (illus. in Pinkerton 1789, p. 123 and pl., no. 13, as previously unpublished, in Southgate collection). 0.96g/14.8gr. 230°. No peck-marks.

- HN13. Ki +CNVT RE+ ANGLORV (1) Same rev. die as 12.
Same obv. die as 14, and possibly as 11 with some recutting.
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Cnut 282). 1.09g/16.8gr. 150°.
- HN14. Kj Same obv. die as 13 +FE REM NMO DYFI
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Cnut 280). 0.90g/13.9gr. 180°.
- HN15. Lk +NNT REO+ ANGLORE (12) +FN REII MIO FIM
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Cnut 281). 1.02g/15.7gr. 0°.
b. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen v 56A); ex Stockholm 1861. 0.95g/14.7gr. 180°.
c. Helsinki (*SCBI* Helsinki 941); Old Collection (Roth 1909, p. 126). 0.98g/14.7gr. 180°.
d. Norway? [A photograph of the obverse of a fourth coin from this die was found among pictures taken in Norway by Michael Dolley in 1976, but no further information is available.]
- HN16. MI +CNVT RE+ ANGLORVN (3) +ND REM NMO DYFLI
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen v 54); ex Kelstrup hoard. 0.91g/14.1gr. 180°.
- HN17. Nm +ZIHTRC RE+ DYFLIN (6) XFE INE IMO DYN
a. Baldwin sale 13 (28 May 1997), lot 1722; ex Uncertain Scandinavian or Slav hoard. 1.04g/16.0gr. 90°
- HN18. On +ZIHTRC RE+ DYFLMO (4) +ZTE GEN MON OND
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen v 51); Old Collection. 0.79g/12.2gr. (fragment) 90°.
b. London (*SCBI* BM H-N 60); ex Mrs Combe 1826?; pre-1708 find (Kerder 1708, pp. 18–19 and pl. II, no. 17; Simon 1749, p. 7 and pl. 2, no. 27; Ledwich 1790, pl. 23, no. 13; Roth 1909, no. 189; O'Sullivan 1949, no. 25). 0.99g/15.3gr. 270°.

From Chester-cut dies

- HN19. Po +SITERIC REX IRVM (10) +ST EG NO NDY
Same obv. die as 20.
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand, Sihtric 101; Roth 1909, p. 126). 0.90g/14.0gr. (broken) 0°.
b. Berlin (*SCBI* Berlin 942); ex Dannenberg 1870. 0.83g/12.8gr. 180°. Not pecked.
- HN20. Pp Same obv. die as 19. +ST EGN ON DVF
a. Cardiff; ex Bryn Maelgwyn hoard (Boon 1986, no. 204). 0.93g/14.4gr. 270° 96% Ag (Boon 1986, p. 35).

Scandinavian Imitations probably struck with a Hiberno-Norse Quatrefoil die

- SI1 Aa +CNVT RE+ ANILORN (6) +CIVLO~MEIHC~COC (L, E and final C reversed)
Quatrefoil type, Hiberno-Norse die *Small Cross* type, without inner circle, Scandinavian die
a. St Petersburg (Inv. 1723); provenance unknown. 1.28g/19.8gr. 200°.
- SI2 Ab Same obv. die as SI1 NIII~COI[]~T~I (N reversed)
Small Cross type, with inner circle, Scandinavian die
a. St Petersburg (Inv. 1724); provenance unknown. 1.35g/20.8gr. 220°.
- SI3 Bc +CNVT REX ANGLORV: +FIE REH NMO DYFL
Quatrefoil type, Lincoln-style, *Quatrefoil* type, probably Hiberno-Norse die
English die
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen v 53); ex Bruun 1922. 1.30g/20.1gr. 245°. Published in Dolley 1974 as part of a large Scandinavian die-chain.

APPENDIX 2: A CORPUS OF THE IRISH SEA IMITATIONS OF QUATREFOIL TYPE

With Chester mint signatures

Alcsi (*OE Eahlsige*)

- IS1. Aa +CNVT RE+ HNGLORVN (12) +AL CNV ONI LEG (second N retrograde)
a. Stockholm; ex Lilla Klintegårda hoard. 0.80g/12.3gr. 60°.

Ceolnoth (*OE*)

- IS2. Bb +CNVT RE+ AINGILORI (12) +CE LNO DON NEL
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiic 3122); ex Bruun 1923. 0.82g/12.6gr. 270°.

- IS3. Cc +LNVT RE+ ANGLOR (9) +CE LNO DON LEG
(Ns reversed)
a. St Petersburg; without provenance (Inv. 113581). 0.82g/12.7gr. 0°.
- Croc (*ON Krokr*)
- IS4. Dd +CNVT RE+ ANGLORV (10) +CR OFL ON LEI
a. London (*BMC* 276); without provenance, before 1838; possibly from the Kingsholm hoard, c. 1780. 0.93g/14.2gr. 150°.
- IS5. Ee +INVT RME+ AIGLORV (1) +CN OFL NEH RIC
Same obv. die as 6.
a. London (*BMC* 491, as Richborough?); ex Southgate 1795; possibly from the Kingsholm hoard, c. 1780. 0.94g/14.5gr. 300°.
b. Stockholm; ex Myrände hoard (*CNS* I.1.19.1779). 0.89g/13.7gr. 90°.
c. Unknown location; ex Lockett 3753; ex Grantley (Glendining sale 22 May 1944, lot 1148). Wt and die-axis not recorded.
- Godwine (*OE*)
- IS6. Ef Same obv. die as 5. +GO DPI NEO NLEI
Same rev. die as IS7.
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1346). 0.75g/11.6gr.
- IS7. Ff +CNVT RE+ AIGLORV (8) Same rev. die as IS6.
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1345; Hildebrand 1846, 492). 0.94g/14.5gr.
b. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiiia 1391); ex Thomsen 1868. 0.76g/11.7 gr. (slightly chipped) 100°.
c. J. Leighton; ex Glendining 14 March 1973, lot 27; ex Stryjewo Wielkie hoard. 0.89g/13.8gr. 225°.
d. Stockholm; ex Stora Bjers hoard. 0.97g/15.0gr. 200°.
- IS8. Gg +CNVT RE+ ANGLOR (9) +GO DPI NEO NLEI Same rev. die as IS9.
a. Bergen; ex Årstad hoard. 0.88g/13.6gr. 0°.
- IS9. Hg +CNVT E+ ANGLORVN (8) Same rev. die as IS8.
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiiia 1393); ex Sanct Jørgensbjerg hoard. 0.90g/13.9gr. (chipped) 230°.
- Gunleof (*ON Gunnleifr?*)
- IS10. Ih +CNVT RE+ ANGLORV (5) +GV NLE FON LEG
a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiiia 1398); pre-1794 acquisition (*Beskrivelse* 1794, no. 26). 0.98g/15.1gr. 0°.
b. Stockholm; ex Sund hoard. 0.69g/10.6gr. 0°.
- Leofsige (*OE*)
- IS11. Ji +CNVT RE+ ANGLOR (11) +LE OFZ ION LEI
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1374; Hildebrand 1846, 506). 0.94g/14.5gr.
- IS12. Kj +ANVT RE+ CNGLORVNI (11) +L EOF SOL NEI
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1371; Hildebrand 1846, 505). 0.94g/14.5gr.
b. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1371 *bis*). 0.98g/15.1gr.
c. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiiia 1418); ex Kelstrup hoard. 0.88g/13.6gr. 270°.
d. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen 111a 1419); ex Bruun 1923. 0.78g/12.1gr. 180°.
e. Cambridge (Grierson loan); ex Baldwin sale 13 (28 May 1997), lot 1751 (part).
- Leofwi (*OE Leofwig*)
- IS13. Lk +CNVT RE+ ANILOR (12) +LE OPI DIL· ECP
Same obv. die as IS14.
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1404). 0.78g/12.0gr.
- Leofwine (*OE*)
- IS14. Ll Same obv. die as IS13. +LE OPN NCO ECN
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 163, as Canterbury). 0.80g/12.3gr.
- IS15. Mm +CNVT RE+ ANGLORVM (9) +LE ONE NEOII LEG
a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1397). 0.93g/14.4gr.
b. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1397 *bis*). 0.85g/13.0gr.
c. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiiia 1445); pre-1791 acquisition (*Beskrivelse* 1791, no. 17).

- 0.78g/12.1gr. (chipped) 270°.
 d. Helsinki (*SCBI* Helsinki 611); ex grave find at Franttilannummi, Mynämäki 1933. 0.77g/11.9gr. (pierced) 300°.
 e. Bergen; ex Nesbøen hoard. 0.59g/9.1gr. (fragment) 0°.
 f. Location unknown; ex Mack (*SCBI* Mack 1069); ex Argyll. 0.95g/14.6gr. 320° pecked.

Snel (*OE Snell*)

- IS16. Nn +CNVT RE+ ANGNLOR (9) +SN EL ON LEC
 a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiii 1458); ex Gartz sale, Stockholm, 26 November 1901, lot 1181. 0.96g/14.8gr. 270°.

Swartinc (*ON Svertingr*)

- IS17. Oo +CNVT RL+ ANGLONE (5) +ZP ART NCIO NLE
 a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 1426). 0.89g/13.7gr.
 b. Stockholm; ex Djuped hoard. 0.78g/12.1gr. 280°.

Blundered reverse legends

- IS18. Pp +NVT RNE+ ANGL'ORV (9) +DN REII IHIO INI
 a. Cardiff; ex Pant-yr-eglwys hoard (Boon 1986, p. 26, no. 4). 0.79g/12.2gr. 93% Ag (Boon 1986, p. 35).
- IS19. Qq +LNVT RE+ ANGL'OR (9) +NE OFN IOR REN
 a. London (*BMC* 610); ex Rollin and Feuarden 1890. 0.89g/13.8gr. 20° not pecked.
 b. Stockholm, without provenance. 0.81g/12.5gr. 20°.
 c. Stockholm, without provenance. 0.96g/14.8gr. 110°.
- IS20. Rr +CNVT RE+ ANGLOR (6) +NI EICI ON ELV (second N reversed)
 a. Stockholm (Hildebrand 2673). 0.80g/12.3gr.
 b. Stockholm (Hildebrand 2674). 0.74g/11.4gr.
 c. Stockholm (Hildebrand 2674 bis). 0.88g/13.6gr.
 d. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiic 4232); pre-1794 acquisition (*Beskrivelse* 1794, no. 32). 0.85g/13.1gr. 270°.
 e. J. Chown (Chown 1993, fig. 2); ex Lockett 723; bt Baldwins. Wt not recorded.
- IS21. Ss +NVBT EI+ ANGLOBVH (9) +IN ITH HIO -DN (first N reversed)
 a. Copenhagen (*SCBI* Copenhagen iiic 4278); ex Thomsen 1868 (Thomsen 1853, p. 106, no. 2). 0.98g/15.1gr. 90°.
- IS22. Tt +CNVT E+ ANGLORVN (4) +HE RIFN CNTO HENL
 (first N reversed)
 a. Stockholm; without provenance. 0.87g/13.4gr. 200°.

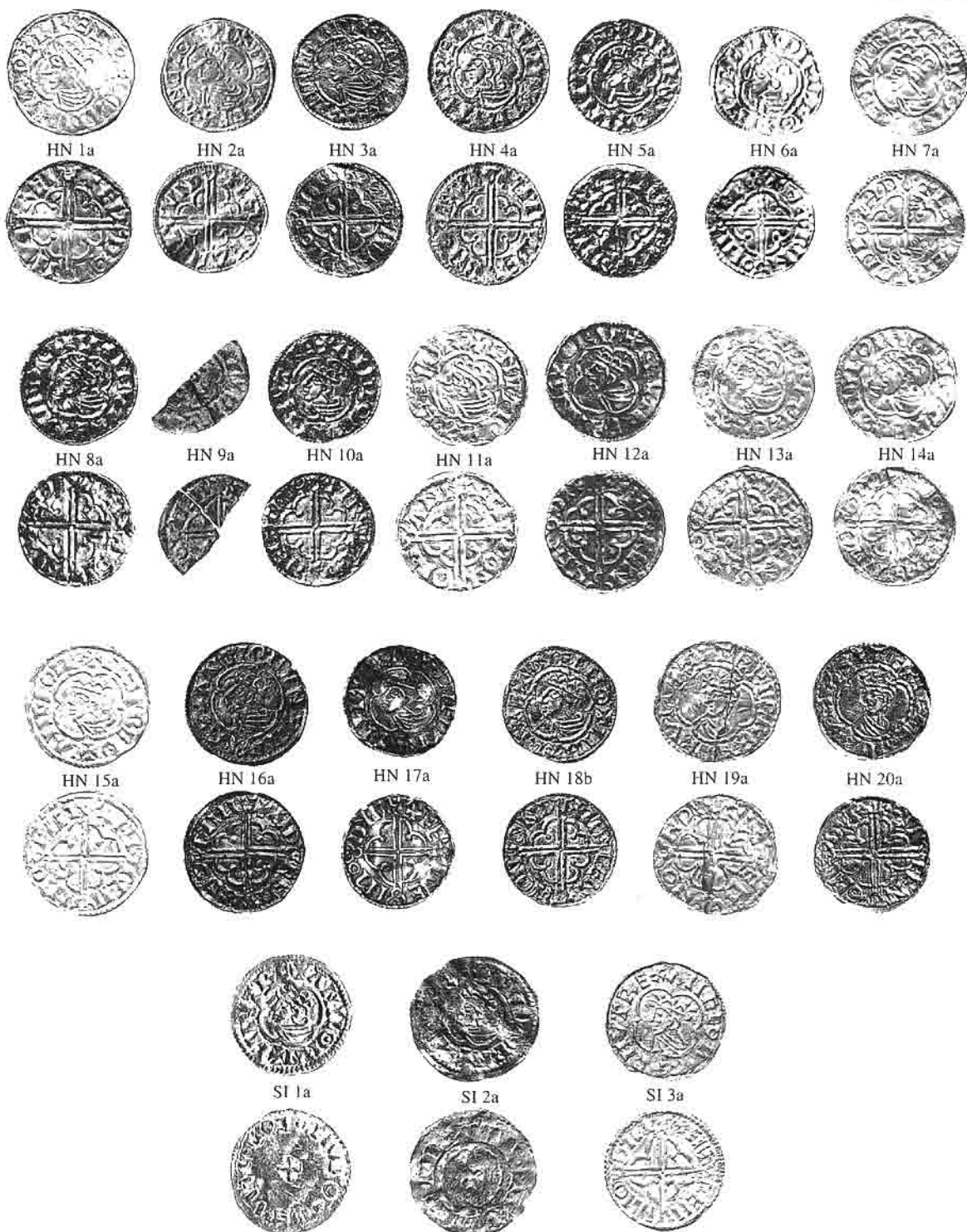
LIST OF FINDS

- Årstad, Egersund, Rogaland, Norway. 1836f. UMK, HMB (Blackburn and Jonsson N37; *t.p.q.* 1030) IS8a
 Bryn Maelgwyn, near Llandudno, Caer., Wales. 1979 NMW (Blackburn and Pagan 208; *t.p.q.* 1023) HN3, HN20
 Djuped, Styrnäs, Ångermanland, Sweden. 1919 SHM Inv. 16295 (Jonsson S61; *t.p.q.* 1024) IS17b
 Enner, Tamdrup, Jylland, Denmark. 1849 FP 79 (Jonsson DS78; *t.p.q.* 1029) HN4, HN9a, HN12b
 Franttilannummi, Mynämäki, Finland (grave find). 1933 NM 9750: 2b–c (*SCBI* Helsinki, p. xxxiv) IS15d
 Glammunds I, Åkeböck, Gotland, Sweden. 1986–7 KMK Inv. 101663 (Jonsson –; NNÅ 1989–90, 194; *t.p.q.* 1047) HN6
 Kelstrup, Stillinge, Sjælland, Denmark. 1859 FP 207 (Jonsson DS65; *t.p.q.* 1023) HN15, IS12c
 Kingsholm(?), Gloucestershire, England. c. 1780 (Blackburn and Pagan 206; *t.p.q.* 1017) HN12c–d?, IS4?, IS5a?
 Lilla Klintegårda, Väskinde, Gotland, Sweden. 1876 SHM Inv. 5804 (Jonsson G144; *t.p.q.* 1039) IS1
 Lübeck-Malkendorf, Holstein, Germany. 1875 (Blackburn and Jonsson W142; *SCBI* Berlin 26; *t.p.q.* 1038) HN8
 Myrände, Atlingbo, Gotland, Sweden. 1893 SHM Inv. 9392 (*CNS* I.1.19; Jonsson G138; *t.p.q.* 1036) IS5b
 Nesbøen, Bolsøy, Möre og Romsdal, Norway. 1891 HMB B.4826 (Blackburn and Jonsson N35; *t.p.q.* 1024) IS15c
 Nousiainen, Nikkilä, Finland. 1895 NM 3132, 3579 (*SCBI* Helsinki, p. xxx; *t.p.q.* c. 1036) HN9
 Pant-yr-eglwys, Great Orme, Caer., Wales. 1981 NMW (Blackburn and Pagan 207; *t.p.q.* 1017) IS18
 Sanct Jørgensbjerg, Roskilde, Sjælland, Denmark. 1954 FP 2374a (Jonsson DS82; *t.p.q.* 1035) IS9
 Sigmarve, Hejde, Gotland, Sweden. 1918f. Inv. 16077, 16200 (Jonsson G172; *t.p.q.* 1053) HN1
 Stora Bjers, Stenkyrka, Gotland, Sweden. 1909f. SHM Inv. 14376, etc. (Jonsson G173; *t.p.q.* 1053) IS7d

- Stryjewo Wielkie, Ciechanów, Warszawa, Poland. Before 1973 (Blackburn and Jonsson W155; *t.p.q.* 1044) HN10b, IS7c
- Sund, Skön, Medelpad, Sweden. 1891 SHM Inv. 9039 (Jonsson S65; *t.p.q.* 1027) IS10b
- Uncertain Scandinavian or Slav hoard. Before 1997 (*t.p.q.* 1056). Parcels from this large hoard were sold at Baldwin sale 13 (28 May 1997), a subsequent Baldwin sale and Westfälische Auktionesgesellschaft sale 8 (10 April 1997). HN17

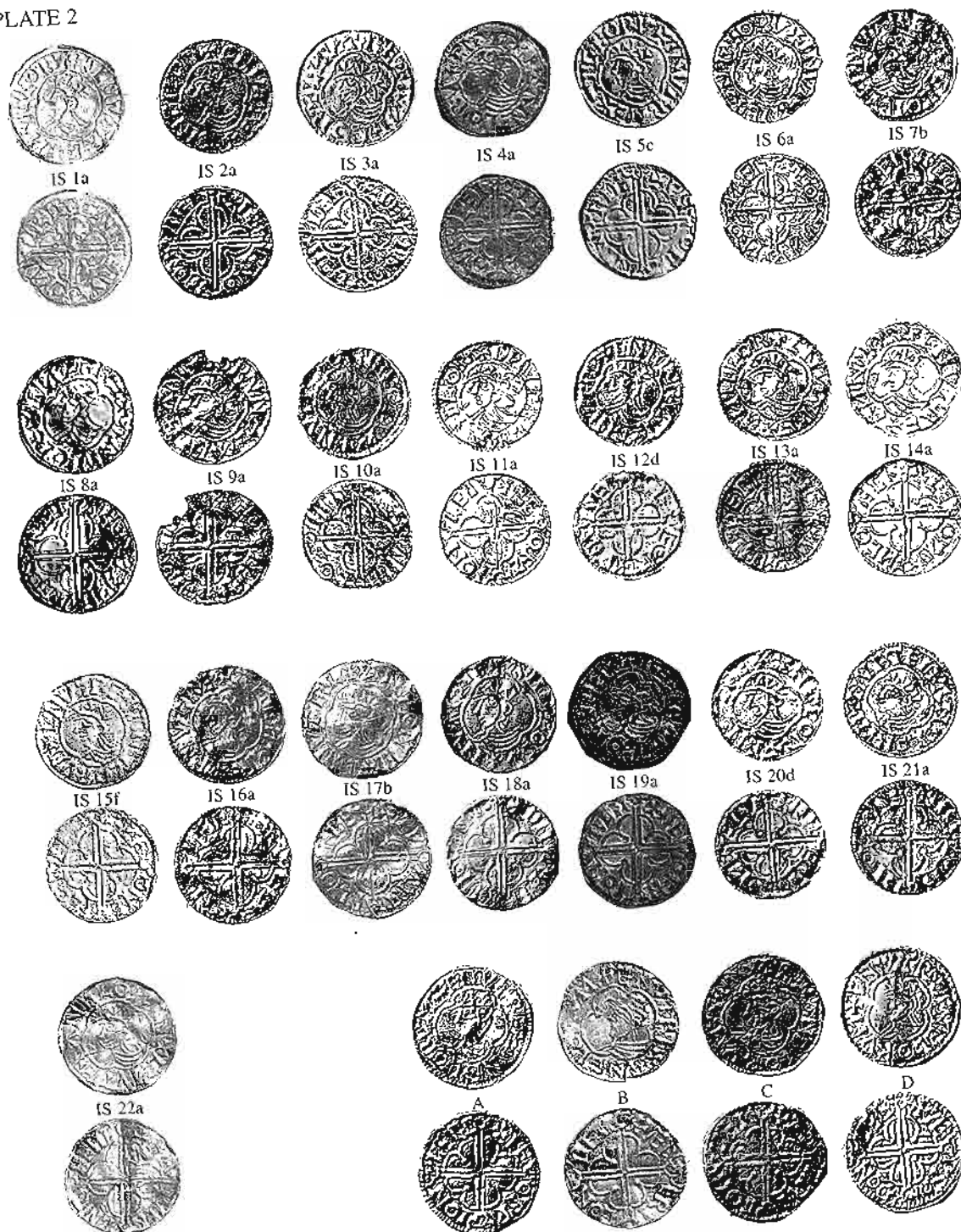
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BLACKBURN: CNUT IMITATIONS (1)

PLATE 2



BLACKBURN: CNUT IMITATIONS (2)

TEXTUAL SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF JEWISH CURRENCY CRIMES IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

W. JOHNSON

AS students of medieval literature know, the coin clipping Jew is a stock character in late medieval depictions of greed. Consider the claim made by Coveteise in the late fourteenth-century poem *Piers Plowman*.

I learned among Lumbardes a lesson, and of Jewes
To weye pens with a peis, and pare the heyeste
B V. 238–9¹

[I learned among Lombards and Jews a lesson:
To weigh pennies with a pennyweight, and clip down the heaviest]

This was written roughly ninety years after Edward I expelled the last of his Jews from England, but it is typical of an idea about the way Jews handled coins that was believed by Englishmen who lived their entire lives without meeting any real Jews. It was the remarkable persistence of such thinking, and its ready availability as a literary motif, that first captured my interest. This idea arose and took hold during a period when government documentation of its own activities increased dramatically, during a period when the value of the English penny was thought to be threatened, when the physical appearance of the penny was changed. The change was at least partially a direct response to real or imagined clipping by Jews, and it was discussed in those terms in a rich variety of surviving texts, ranging from monastic chronicles to rabbinic responsa. The origins of this way of thinking in the mid thirteenth century, around the time of the change from short cross to long cross pennies, provide a glimpse of the almost lost cultural history of medieval English coins.

What first struck me was the divergence of the chroniclers' accounts from other forms of the historical record.² Some chroniclers express concern about the state of the coinage in years when administrative documents and numismatic evidence suggest that it was sound. Although in a majority of cases this concern is expressed in a brief reference, Matthew Paris links it explicitly to accusations against foreigners and Jews.

I gratefully acknowledge the helpful comments and assistance of Anna Sapir Abulafia, Marion Archibald, Daniel Boyarin, Martin Brett, Christoph Cluse, Barrie Dobson, Antonia Gransden, Jim Landman, Anne Middleton, Miri Rubin, Ruth Shklar, Robert Stacey, and two anonymous reviewers. I received valuable archival assistance from Mark Blackburn at the Fitzwilliam Museum; Rabbi Golden at Jews College, London; and Stefan Reif and Godfrey Waller at the University Library, Cambridge. Special thanks are due to Sarah Kelen, who first suggested to me that Matthew Paris had been preoccupied with circumcision, and to Peter Spufford, who directed these first faltering steps in medieval numismatics.

¹ *Piers Plowman: The B Version, Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best*, edited by George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 320–1. The actual mechanics of clipping are not entirely clear, but some understanding may be gleaned from the vocabulary used to describe the process. In medieval Latin the usual words are

tonsura or *retonsura*, shearing, shaving, replacing classical Latin *curtus*, cut, mutilated, circumcized. In medieval Hebrew coin clipping is called *gezzazah* (shearing), *giluah* (shaving) and *pesil* (which means both carving and invalidating). At least in the case of the near-universal clipping down of 1279 the actual quantity of metal removed from each penny was minute – 0.3 grains (0.0194 grams), a piece quite a bit smaller than the head of a pin. It seems likely that thin shavings were pared off the edges of the coins. Such a reduction would have been invisibly minute, detectable only by weighing.

² I reviewed all chronicles listed in Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), and Edgar B. Graves, *A Bibliography of English History to 1485* (Oxford, 1975) as significant sources for contemporaneous coverage of the period 1200–1290. References to the three recoinages are summarized in the appendix.

A brief look at thirteenth-century monetary theory will illustrate what was at stake in complaints about clipping. A universally available authority was Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*. Before 636 Isidore wrote: '*Moneta appellata est quia monet ne qua fraus in metallo uel in pondere fiat. Nomisma est solidus aureus uel argenteus siue aereus, qui ideo nomisma dicitur quia nominibus principum effigiis que signatur . . . In nomismate tria quaeruntur: metallum, figura et pondus. Si ex his aliquid defuerit, nomisma non erit.*'³ Following Isidore, Innocent III (died 1216) defined a sound currency as a piece of precious metal bearing a stamp which certified, under the authority of the prince, that it was of fixed weight and fineness.⁴ This definition entered canon law, and was cited in 1265, when Gérard d'Abbeville responded to questions about Louis IX's plan to demonetize the English pennies then circulating in France. Master Gérard, a theologian at the University of Paris, provided a quodlibetical analysis of the royal right to control and profit from the currency. Basing himself on Biblical verses and Gratian's *Decretum*, he argued that a king had the right to manipulate the currency for a profit, and to impose his monetary policy on lay and cleric alike, so long as his decisions were in the public interest (*propter utilitatem publicam*).⁵ This echoed an assumption so central to people's thinking about money that it was, in fact, rarely enunciated – that a sound and stable currency is essential to the maintenance of a sound economy and a stable social order. Weak currencies were associated with disorder and weak kings; strong currencies were associated with strong and well-managed kingdoms. Such reasoning underlies article 13 of the First Lateran Council (1123), which condemns one who makes or knowingly passes false coins as an oppressor of the poor and a disturber of public order (*civitatis turbator*).⁶

Thirteenth-century England saw economic reorganizations which had significant social impact.⁷ This was a century of steady inflation which created both winners and losers, disrupting the established social order in the process. In addition to social and economic change, this was a time of constitutional development which saw baronial pressure exerted on both John and Henry III.⁸ A particular grievance among the barons was the activities and protected status of the Jews. The primary customers of Jewish money lenders were the lesser aristocracy and city dwellers, but everyone borrowed. Most loans were for consumption rather than investment and the rate of default was high.⁹ As Jews were prohibited by law from

³ 'It is called "money" because it warns (*moneta/monet*) that there should be no deception in metallic content or weight. A "coin" is a piece of gold or silver or bronze which is called a coin because of the name (*nomisma/nominibus*) of the prince whose effigy it bears . . . Three things are required in a coin: metallic content, the figure of the prince, and proper weight'. Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum Siue Originum Libri XX*, edited by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), book 16, chapter 18, paragraph 8.

⁴ Pierre Michaud-Quantin, 'La Politique Monétaire Royale à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris en 1265,' *Le Moyen Âge* 68 (1962), 144–5.

⁵ Michaud-Quantin argues that this notion of public good, which is central to Aristotelian monetary theory, could not have been known directly from the works of Aristotle, p. 141.

⁶ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, edited by Joseph Alberigo et al. (Bologna, 1973) p. 192, article 13. Tom Bisson writes that this conception 'of the sound coinage as an element of public order . . . was already a century old in the Spanish March' (*Conservation of Coinage – Monetary Exploitation and Its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon (c. A.D. 1000 – c. 1225)*, (Oxford, 1979), p. 168.). I find confirmation of my thesis in the recent work of J. LeGoff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996), pp. 245–51, which appeared after the completion of the present essay. LeGoff's comments on the monetary reforms of Louis IX will be of interest to many members of the Society.

⁷ What follows is a very compressed description of the main trends of economic change in this period. I am relying heavily on the work of E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change, 1086–1348* (London, 1978) and *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086–1348* (London, 1995). See also Mavis Mate, 'Monetary Policies in England, 1272–1307', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 34–79, for a substantial and detailed discussion of the evidence of the coins themselves.

⁸ The classic collection of sources is R. F. Trehearne, *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258–67* (Oxford, 1973).

⁹ Miller & Hatcher, *Medieval England – Towns, Commerce & Crafts*, pp. 383–5. Lipman notes that since the surviving evidence is mostly concerned with bad debts it is impossible to calculate the overall rate of return on Jewish lending. (Vivian Lipman, *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* (London, 1967), p. 82.) But it is not likely that the series of *dona* demanded of English Jews could have been funded by lending alone, even at the prevalent annual rate of return of 43 per cent. Indeed, it was their frequent confiscation of the land and chattels of defaulted debtors which undergirded many complaints against the operations of Jewish moneylenders. Harding estimates that between failure of bloodlines and financial default, 'the majority of landowning families failed within six generations.' (Alan Harding, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 198.)

accumulating land, they were forced to sell the land of defaulted debtors to other Christians. The small group of men whose cash assets enabled them to buy when the Jews needed to sell prospered exceedingly.

These economic conditions led to overt hostility toward English Jews – hostility which tended to peak in times of crisis. From the barons' point of view, English Jews were both economic competitors and protected royal property. This made them attractive targets in the passionate conflicts between the king and the barons. When baronial supporters looted London's Jewry in 1215 they demolished Jewish houses and used the stones to mend the city walls.¹⁰ This may have been a deliberately symbolic gesture, using the property of resident aliens to reinforce a communal boundary. The first version of Magna Carta, which appeared the same year, also shows traces of Jewish-Christian antagonism. John granted relief from Jewish creditors in two articles. Article 10 states that interest shall not accrue on debts to Jews during the minority of those who inherit the estates of the debtors, and that no interest shall be payable on escheated debts. Article 11 ensures that widows and orphans get their share from the estate of a decedent before his Jewish creditors.

Complaints against Jews were often linked to complaints against aliens, especially Henry's continental relatives whom he appointed to high office and to whom he granted lucrative royal preferments. Roger of Wendover complained against the royal relatives in 1233 and in the same year a clerk of the exchequer drew a cartoon in which the Jew Isaac of Norwich wears Henry's crown.¹¹ In 1258 the barons complained in a series of written declarations that Henry had given the country's wealth into the hands of foreigners, and at the same time they complained about powerful Christians who bought bonds from Jews and used them to seize mortgaged land.¹² The London Jewry was again looted by the barons and their supporters in 1264, and the 'Song of Lewes', which celebrated the triumph of the baronial forces in that year, described the victory as a triumph of native born Englishmen over foreigners.

By the thirteenth century the French-speaking gentry, though of Norman descent, had succeeded in establishing their right to transmit the lands they held in fief to their heirs. Their interests lay in managing their estates and forming alliances with each other; their lives were thus focussed on England and they, too, tended to see things from a domestic rather than an international perspective. Such nativist sentiments were remarkably persistent. The following condemnation of the Normans is from the *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, sub anno 1300: '... King William acquired England by force of arms; he reduced the earls to obedience; he divided the land into counties; he disinherited the native inhabitants; he enfeoffed foreigners (*indigenas exheredavit, alienigenas infeudavit*) and, to be brief, he who acquired the whole country allotted its parts where, how and to whom he wished. It seemed that under this new king and foreigner (*sub rege novo et alienigena*) another era had begun in England'.¹³ The chronicler's bitterness about events more than two hundred years in his past is quite extraordinary, and indicative of the structure of class resentment throughout the thirteenth century.

¹⁰ Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, third edition, (Oxford, 1964), p. 36.

¹¹ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, edited by H. O. Coxe (English Historical Society, 1841–4) pp. 47–8, 51. Cf. *Annals of Osney*, edited by Henry R. Luard in *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series, 1864–9) vol. IV, pp. 150–1. In the cartoon, drawn at the head of a Norwich exchequer roll of 1233, Isaac of Norwich wears the crown of Henry III. The crown, with its distinctive trefoils appears in contemporary portraits, and a base metal copy of it was found on Henry's head when his tomb was opened in 1774. Isaac was the richest Jew in England when the sketch was made. He is accompanied by Mosse filius Abraham Mokke, his Jewish employee in the court case discussed in note 18. (Public Record Office.

Exchequer of Receipt Jews' Roll number 87, Hilary Term, 17 Henry III. Reproduced in Michael Adler, *Jews of Medieval England* (London, 1939), plate 1.)

¹² Treharne and Sanders, *Documents of the Baronial Movement*, pp. 86–7.

¹³ '... rex Willelmus Angliam armis adquisivit, comites subingavit, comitatus investivit, indigenas exheredavit, alienigenas infeudavit et ut breviter replicam, qui totum adquisivit partes totius ubi et quomodo et ad quos voluit distribuit. Quare sub rege novo et alienigena quasi seculum novum exoriri in Anglia ...' Translation from Antonia Gransden, *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds 1212–1301* (London, 1964) pp. 160–1.

There were no permanent settlements of Jews in England before the Conquest. Around 1070 Jews began arriving in England, probably from Rouen, with the permission and under the protection of King William. In the thirteenth century the English Jewish community was still overwhelmingly French, and it never ceased to be a cultural colony of French Jewry. English Jews travelled frequently to the continent and were in constant contact with their relatives in Normandy and the Rhine valley, marrying each other and transacting business in partnership with each other. The continent was the cultural focus of English Jews. Not only did English Jews speak French, they sent their sons to be educated abroad and looked to the continental rabbinate for the last word in legal disputes.¹⁴

The majority of Jewish families lived by commerce, though some worked as doctors or artisans and a few in those trades necessary to the functioning of any Jewish community – as ritual slaughterers, teachers, scribes. But the single economic activity which dwarfed all others in importance and profitability was money-lending. Until the 1240s the Jews were the principal significant source of credit in England. Most loans were syndicated to spread the risk, and in large loans the syndicates would include partners on the continent. From the records of these syndicates we get some sense of the extent of involvement in money-lending of the average Jew. Alongside tycoons who could lend a thousand marks one finds widows who lend ten marks. In wills and marriage contracts one often finds sums, set aside for minor children, which are to be loaned out at interest, with specific stipulations regarding the expenditure of income and the conservation of capital. There was an after-market in which Jewish bonds were re-sold at a discount or premium, and in which the interest and principal portions of a bond might be split apart and sold separately.¹⁵

English Jews were financially sophisticated people who had a virtual monopoly on the document-based world of credit which made them rich. Their cash income was easily taxable and they were, in turn, a lucrative source of income for English kings. In a time when there was only infrequent national taxation the Jews also served as *de facto* tax collectors. Throughout the thirteenth century there were only fourteen national taxes on moveables assessed against non-Jews – in 1201, 1203, 1207, 1225, 1232, 1237, 1269, 1275, 1283, 1290, 1294, 1295, 1296, and 1297.¹⁶ But as the king's property the Jews, as well, were liable to periodic arbitrary taxation. Roth lists forty-nine tallages in the reign of Henry III alone.¹⁷ These tallages were highly organized, and by Henry's time accounted for a significant portion of royal income. When the king demanded money from his Jews, they in turn demanded money from their debtors. This might take the form of seizure of lands and chattels from defaulted debtors, an action which in the thirteenth century was taken suddenly and sometimes by force. At least a few Jews had large retinues of Christian retainers who assisted them in seizing property under the protection of the local sheriff.¹⁸ Because of their wealth and utility, the Jews were protected royal clients, answerable only to the King's justice and enjoying royal

¹⁴ I. Epstein, 'Pre-Expulsion England in the Responsa,' *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 14 (1940), 202.

¹⁵ *Starrs and Jewish Charters Preserved in the British Museum*, edited by Israel Abrahams and Henry P. Stokes, (London, 1930–2), passim; Robert C. Stacey, 'Jewish lending and the medieval English economy' in *A commercialising economy – England 1086 to c. 1300*, edited by Richard H. Britnell and Bruce M. S. Campbell, (Manchester, 1995).

¹⁶ Fred A. Cazel 'Royal Taxation in Thirteenth Century England', *Pro Civitate Collection Histoire* (Historische Uitgaven), in-8°, n. 13 (1966), 118. R. Stacey's account differs in detail but not in ways which affect my argument.

¹⁷ Roth, *History of the Jews*, p. 273.

¹⁸ In 1219 a complaint was filed against Isaac of Norwich and his employees (twenty-one Christian and one Jewish) for wrongfully breaking into the houses of Peter de Nereford and beating Peter and his men while collecting a debt. In 1220 a similar complaint was filed by Simon Le Bree against Elijah of Lincoln and his twenty-six Christian employees. (*Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* (Jewish Publications Society, 1905–93), vol. I, pp. 13, 15, 25.) Shortness of time has kept me from searching the early unindexed volumes of the Plea Rolls for other cases, but a similar incident in 1272 cited by R. B. Dobson may have been less unusual than he suggests (R. B. Dobson 'The Jews of medieval Cambridge', *Jewish Historical Studies*, vol. 32 (1990–92), 13.)

protection as the King's property. As is evident, though, from the frequency with which royal charters of protection were issued, this Jewish immunity was unpopular and frequently violated.¹⁹ This is well-mapped territory. My point is to emphasize here the rôle I think Jews played in the political imagination of thirteenth-century England. To a moderately prosperous descendant of a knight granted land after the Norman Conquest the Jews were upstart foreigners who served a series of increasingly unpopular monarchs in exactly those aspects of their administrations in which royal interests conflicted with local ones.

In any system of precious metal coinage there is a certain amount of clipping, and those most often suspected are those who handle large amounts of money. Since anyone in the financial position of the Jews would probably have fallen under suspicion, the accusation itself may tell us little about Jewish-Christian relations. It appears that Jews were no different from their Christian neighbours in their handling of the currency. In periods of occasional clipping there was occasional clipping by Jews; in periods of extensive clipping there was extensive clipping by Jews.²⁰ There are many Jewish records of medieval coin clipping. Whilst only a few of them refer explicitly to England, others illuminate the social context in which the clipping took place. Read as a whole, this corpus of Jewish writing shows the extent of rabbinic concern about coin clipping, which was seen precisely as a matter of Jewish-Christian relations.

The earliest Jewish reference to coin clipping of which I am aware appears in *Sepher Hasidim*, a collection of moral teachings completed in the Rhine Valley around 1230. The author uses a phrase which is the literal equivalent of the Latin *tonsurā monetarū*, 'shearing money'. 'Those who clip coins or cheat in weight, measure or goods or in any other way will in the end lose their property – their children will be separated from each other in a foreign land and become beggars ...'²¹

The first explicit reference to coin clipping by English Jews appears somewhat later, during the reign of Edward I. Rabbi Meir of Rottenburg wrote a letter to a London rabbi sometime between 1278 and 1286, supporting his condemnation of coin clipping. Rabbi Meir was the greatest scholar of his generation and the final legal authority for European Jews. Although only his response survives, it is possible to reconstruct the question which elicited it. The London rabbi had written of some English Jews who were asked by the Christian residents of their city (apparently London) to swear that they would not clip coins. The Jews swore not to clip coins and then clipped them anyway, justifying themselves to other Jews by citing the talmudic ruling that an oath given with mental reservations is not binding. Rabbi Meir wrote about these coin clippers, 'Cut off their hands! ... How much blood has been spilled by these and others like them who invalidate the currency. These are the ones who have brought destruction upon the Jewish inhabitants of France and England ...' After interpreting the relevant talmudic passages in support of this judgment, he concluded: 'If our combined influence is great enough let them be publicly flogged.'²² The amputation suggested by Rabbi Meir is not, in fact, allowed under Jewish law; his suggestion that the clippers should suffer

¹⁹ Royal protection orders were issued in 1203 and 1218 (Roth, *History of the Jews*, pp. 33, 39), 1219 (*Plea Rolls 1219*, p. 18); 1223 (*Close Rolls 1223*, p. 567); 1236 (Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum Sive Historia Minor*, edited by Frederic Madden (Rolls Series, 1866–9), vol. II pp. 381–2); 1236 (*Ibid.*, vol. II pp. 391–2).

²⁰ It has traditionally been argued that Jews were impoverished by the ban on usury in 1275 and may have been forced to clip by financial desperation. For a recent statement to this effect, see Mate, 'Monetary Policy', 39. A recent study has shown, however, that the ban on usury did not so much end Jewish money lending as change its form. The archae

continued to operate, and to register new loans, until 1290 (Robin Mundill, 'Anglo-Jewry Under Edward I: Credit Agents and Their Clients,' *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 31 (1988–90), 1–12).

²¹ I have translated the Hebrew generic singular subjects of this sentence as generic plurals. (*Sepher Hasidim*, edited by Jehuda Wistinetzki, (Frankfurt, 1924), §1223).

²² Meir ben Barukh (Maharam) of Rottenburg, *Responsa. Rulings and Customs* (Jerusalem, 1960), vol. II, pp. 117–8.

the punishment traditional under English law must be read as an indication of his anger at the coin clippers, whom he saw as a danger to the entire Jewish community.

Writing around 1500, Isaac Abarbanel described the English expulsion as the first nationwide expulsion of Jews, adding: 'There is a tradition among the Jews that this was because of the clipping of the coinage to which the Jews of that land were addicted, that the king had reproved them about it many times and they did not listen, and that in the end he expelled them from his land.'²³ Abarbanel came from a family which had produced generations of prominent advisors to the Christian nobility of the Iberian peninsula – treasurers, secretaries of state, royal councillors. When he was expelled from Spain with the rest of the Jews in 1492 he was allowed to take with him a substantial fortune in recognition of his services to the Spanish crown.

Abarbanel's text is interesting for several reasons. First, because of his background in government he understood the implications of coin clipping for a country's economy. He saw it from both the king's point of view and from the point of view of Jews for whom it led to a deterioration of relations with their neighbours. Second, it tells us how the Jews of England were remembered by other Jews. We know that coin clipping was disapproved of by thirteenth-century continental Jewish authorities, who were concerned about its impact on Jewish-Christian relations. We see with Abarbanel that Jewish disapproval of the currency crimes of English Jews had become part of the Jewish historical tradition. Third, the Hebrew phrase he used to describe the intensity of English Jews' involvement in coin clipping alludes to a well-known piece of rabbinic lore which further illuminates his understanding of what had happened in England. The phrase I have translated 'addicted to' is the Hebrew *shetufim be-*, literally 'sunk in'. This is part of a medieval rabbinic cliché: *shetufim be-zimah*, 'sunk in depravity'. In medieval texts it often refers to the spiritual situation of Jews who get rich among gentiles and forget their Jewishness, go native. Abarbanel may have been suggesting that the financial success of English Jews had made them materialistic and corrupt.

Abarbanel's account of the expulsion from England had great currency and authority among subsequent scholars, and shaped subsequent Jewish historical interpretations through to the nineteenth century. There is evidence, though, that continental Jews had already formed an unfavourable opinion about the behaviour of English Jews by the early fourteenth century. In a record of a lawsuit which took place in Manosque in 1338, a French Jew impugns the credibility of another Jewish resident of Manosque on the grounds that his ancestors had been expelled from England for clipping coins: '*Vos [patres] fuistis Engles qui exiverunt de terra eorum quia rotundabitur monetam!*'²⁴ The accusation was not contested.

All these texts belong to a rabbinic tradition which assumes that Jewish communities are punished collectively by God for the actions of individual Jews. According to this view, a great disaster is proof of great transgression. When Rabbi Meir blamed coin clippers for bringing disaster upon the Jews of France and England he probably had in mind the mass executions of 1248 (France) and 1279 (England). Abarbanel, who himself lived through the mass expulsion from Spain in 1492, was writing about the ways in which certain great disasters fit into a sequence of traumas the Jewish people must suffer before the coming of the messiah. Moreover, all three rabbis were acutely aware that criminal activity by Jews may be used as a justification for persecution. Addressing themselves to Jewish communities, they would tend to emphasize the possibility of collective punishment by God as a way of inciting peer pressure against Jewish criminals.

²³ Isaac Abarbanel, *Sepher Yeshuot Meshiho* (Konigsburg, 1861), p. 46f.

²⁴ Joseph Shatzmiller, 'Solomon Ibn Virga and the Jewish Expulsion from England' [Hebrew, with transcription of Latin document], in *Exile and Diaspora, Studies in the History of*

the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 349–55. I am grateful to Christoph Cluse for bringing this reference to my attention.

The association of Jews and money in thirteenth-century culture went beyond the obvious connection of personal wealth. Non-Jews have been preoccupied with circumcision since antiquity, and in classical Latin the ideas of circumcision and money were combined in a single word – *curtus* – which meant both a clipped coin and a circumcised Jewish man. This equation had entered English by 1200.²⁵ Just as Jews were clipped/circumcised so could coins be clipped/circumcised. Just as Jews multiplied money by usury so too could it be multiplied by clipping. In fact, the association of usury with clipping was a commonplace in scholastic monetary theory. Both are unnatural multiplications of money, but clipping is worse since it is not consensual.

The recoinage of 1205 is not much noted in the chronicles; this is not surprising, since the new coins were merely a continuation of the 1180 Short Cross (i.e. they looked like the old ones) and there was no demonetization of full-weight coins. Sources outside the chronicles suggest that there was no significant clipping in this period. None of the chronicles accuses the Jews of clipping in this period. Although harsh penalties for Jews convicted of coin clipping are stipulated in the writs ordering the recoinage, there was only one such accusation during the recoinage, recorded in a Pipe Roll among similar accusations against Christians.²⁶ Not only is there no evidence of significant clipping outside the chronicles in the early thirteenth century, when cases do appear in administrative documents there are no corresponding accusations in the chronicles. Jews were arrested for '*tonsura denariorum*' in 1230 and sent to the Tower.²⁷ In 1238 coin clipping by Jews was investigated in Guildford.²⁸ In 1243 a Jew was detained in Winchester for '*retonsura*'.²⁹ In 1244 two Jews were detained in Lincoln for clipping money and sent to Westminster to hear judgment before the Justices of the Jews.³⁰ In the same year a Jew was arrested in Hereford for counterfeiting and coin clipping, '*falsarium et retuntorem denariorum*'.³¹ These legal proceedings, which were public and led in some cases to executions, did not capture the imagination of the public. They sank into the background of current events and never appeared in the chronicles.

Complaints about clipping appear in the chronicles in 1247. This recoinage was much more visible than that of 1205 for two reasons: it was a change of type in which Long Cross pennies replaced Short Cross pennies, and it was relatively expensive for those turning in their old pennies at the mints. All but one of the chronicles – Abingdon – mention the recoinage.³² Eight chronicles merely note the event; five chronicles say more (see table 1). These five make similar comments: the currency was much reduced by clipping, and for the good of the realm King Henry borrowed money from his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall to finance a recoinage. This loan was to be repaid from the proceeds of the recoinage.

The records of the recoinage and numismatic evidence, however, suggest that there was no significant clipping and no debasement in fineness. It is worth noting, though, that as many of the pennies in circulation in 1247 had been minted in 1180 a certain amount of wear from use was inevitable. One study suggests that as much as sixteen per cent of the weight of some coins may have been lost to wear, which would have put them under the 12.5% limit below which coins had been culled in 1205.³³

²⁵ Robert Holt and R. M. White, *The Ormulum* (Oxford, 1878), p. 141.

²⁶ *Pipe Roll 7 John*, p. 213.

²⁷ *Close Roll 1230*, p. 304.

²⁸ *Patent Roll 1238*, p. 228.

²⁹ *Liberate Roll 1243*, p. 187.

³⁰ *Liberate Roll 1244*, p. 242.

³¹ *Close Roll 1244*, p. 245.

³² I have included the continuation of the chronicle of Abingdon both because it is listed by Graves as significant and

because it varies from the other chronicles in its coverage of the recoinages of 1247 and 1278. In my judgement, though, this chronicle is not an original, contemporaneous account but a fourteenth-century abridgement of an earlier chronicle. I hope to demonstrate this in a future paper.

³³ N. J. Mayhew interprets the provisions of the 1205 recoinage as evidence of a serious and conservative attempt to deal with a real problem of underweight coin. 'From Regional to Central Minting, 1158–1464' in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C. E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), p. 98.

An unusually high charge of 10d per pound weight of old pennies was assessed at the mint in 1247. This charge must have been rationalized on the grounds of decline in the metallic content of the coins since it was assessed – on the authority of an unusual public assay of Short Cross coins done at the Exchequer – by weight rather than face value. Such a misrepresentation of the import of the assay would have worked to the advantage of the crown. The recoinage would have been unpopular on the basis of cost alone, but it also happened at a time of high tension between Henry and the barons. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the chroniclers who said the coins were clipped and in need of replacement tended to side with the royalists.³⁴ There is at least a suggestion of an attempt to use the allegation of Jewish coin clipping as a justification for the recoinage. In 1246 Justices of the Jews were commanded to bring before the King's bench Jewish men and women accused of coin clipping (*Judeos et Judeas retatos de tonsura denariorum*).³⁵ Whilst the supporters of the barons simply note the change in currency without mentioning any deterioration, the royalists recount what must have been the official justification offered by the crown.

Matthew Paris is at once more expansive and more ambiguous than the other chroniclers, and deserves to be treated separately.³⁶ His political allegiance is far from clear. In the later years of his life Matthew had frequent (apparently friendly) contact with Henry and his court, so it is unlikely that he was an overt supporter of the barons. But he was harshly critical of Henry's leadership. His account of the recoinage situated it within a discussion of royal politics, bringing together threads which run separately through the other sources. Matthew was evidently anxious about the state of the currency, describing the penny as something desirable which was being clipped away by foreigners. This erosion of value he attributed to the weak stewardship of Henry, whom he slightly compared to Louis IX of France.³⁷ But Matthew was a master of innuendo, and rather than a clear statement of opinion his observations on the currency only suggest what his feelings might have been. Matthew wrote:

... moneta esterlingorum propter sui materiam desiderabilem detestabili circumcissione coepit deteriorari et corrumpi, per illos falsarios monetarum quos tonsores appellamus ... Hujus autem fraudis auctores, videlicet mercatores Angliae contermini, praecipue Flandrenses, plus in partibus transmarinis inveniuntur manifeste convicti quam in partibus cismarinis; unde rex Francorum tales in partibus suis plus punivit quam in nostris partibus rex Anglorum. Cum igitur coepisset supra modum et intolerabiliter moneta adulterari et vitiari, coepit domini regis consilium de remedio tractatum habere diligentem, ut videlicet moneta in forma vel materia salubriter alteraretur vel mutaretur. Et visum est multis discretis, quod utilis foret materiam mutare quam formam altiare cum ratione materiae et non formae talem suscepisset moneta deturpationem et dispendium. De quo, Francorum numisma et multorum aliorum principum perhibet testimonium et exemplum.

Because of its desirable material, the English penny (*moneta esterlingorum*) began to be detestably reduced and corrupted by circumcision done by those falsifiers of moneys whom we call clippers (*tonsores*) ... the authors of which fraud, merchants of countries near England, principally Flemings, were more plainly caught overseas than on this side of the sea; hence the king of the French punished such people more in his parts than the king of the English did in our parts. When the money had begun to be immeasurably and intolerably adulterated and weakened, the council of the lord king began to consider some remedy, viz,

³⁴ For *Annals of Waverly* see Luard's introduction. Gransden characterises the Waverly chronicle as constitutional and anti-royalist, citing as well its evident affection for Simon de Montfort's wife Eleanor (*Historical Writing* pp. 414–6). Eleanor was also Henry's sister; and the chronicle mentions the king's generous benefactions and his admission to confraternity despite its political disagreements with him. In my reading the Waverly chronicler shares with Matthew Paris a fundamental allegiance to Henry which is always stronger than his disaffection. For *Wykes' Chronicle* see Graves

Bibliography, p. 454. For *Cronica Londoniarum* see the entry for its author, Arnold Fitzthedmar, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIX, p. 213. The case of Matthew Paris is more complex and will be discussed below.

³⁵ *Close Roll 1246*, p. 433.

³⁶ The standard account of the life of Matthew Paris is R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958).

³⁷ Here again, J. LeGoff has much to add to our understanding of Matthew (as in note 6, pp. 432–50, and extensively in passing).

whether it might be better to alter and change the material or form of money. Many discerning individuals thought it would be better to change the metal than to alter the form, since it was because of its material and not its form that the money had suffered such disfigurement and loss.³⁸

Even in questioning the justification for the form of the new pennies Matthew insinuated that Henry was lacking in leadership. It is interesting to compare this passage to the parallel entry in Bartholomew Cotton's *Historia* – a mixture of original contemporaneous commentary with extracts from other chronicles. Drawing his coverage of events in 1247 from Matthew's *Historia Major*, Cotton abridged Matthew's tendentious account (above) to a brief '*nova moneta fabricata est*'.³⁹ Here, as elsewhere, Matthew wrote that the coins were circumcised, insinuating that they had been clipped by Jews; but he went on to identify the circumcisers as foreign merchants, principally Flemings, who were presumably not Jews. His punning references to circumcised coins at once allude to what may have been the royal justification for the recoinage and convey his anxieties about Henry's weak leadership.

Only once did Matthew explicitly accuse English Jews of clipping. Writing about the state of the English pennies which were circulating in France, he both blamed the Jews and excused them by pointing to Henry's mismanagement: 'It was alleged and found to be true (*dictum est insuper et compertum*), that coins were being circumcised by the circumcised, and it had come about by the faithlessness of the Jews, who now were compelled – by the excessive tallage of the King – to beg.'⁴⁰ Is there a hint in this oddly legalistic phrase that other allegations had not been found to be true?

Matthew located his ambivalent sentiments about Jews within a criticism of Henry's fiscal policy. He contrasted Henry's '*inertia*' with the decisive actions of Louis IX in combatting the coin clipping in France:⁴¹

Ipsis quoque diebus, moneta Angliae per detestabiles tonsores et falsarios adeo intolerabiliter est corrupta, quod non indigenae vel etiam alienigenae eam oculo recto vel illaeso corde poterant intueri. Circumcidebatur enim fore usque ad interiorem circum, limbo literato totaliter vel deleto vel enormiter deturpato. Praeceptum est igitur voce praeconia in civitatibus, burgis, nondinis, et foris, ex parte domini regis, ne quis denarius nisi legitimi ponderis et circularis formae acciperetur, necquoque modo a vendiente vel emente vel commutante acceptaretur, punirenturque hujusmodi praecepti transgressores. Adhibita est etiam diligentia, ut memorati falsarii invenirentur, ut de tanto scelere convicti condigna poena judicialiter punirentur. Facta igitur diligentissima inquisitione, inventi sunt in hoc facinore culpabiles Judaei, Causini infames, et quidam mercatores lanarum Flandrenses. Jussit etiam dominus rex Francorum omnes tales in regno suo compertos patibulis laqueatos vento praesentari.

In these days English money was so intolerably corrupted by clippers and forgers that neither natives, nor even foreigners could look at it straight on with an untroubled heart (*non indigenae vel etiam alienigenae*). It was circumcised almost all the way to the inner circle, its lettered border either completely destroyed or enormously damaged. It was ordered, therefore, by criers in cities, towns, fairs and markets on behalf of the King that no coin should be accepted except it be of full weight and circular form. Nor should it be accepted in any way by seller or buyer or changer, and the violators of this order should be punished. Pains were taken to find these forgers, that convicted of such crimes they might receive the appropriate punishment. A most careful inquiry was made, and Jews, infamous Cahorsins, and certain Flemish wool merchants were found guilty of this crime. The lord King of the French ordered that all such convicted in his realm should be strangled on the gallows and presented to the wind.⁴²

³⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, pp. 632–3.

³⁹ *Historia Anglicana*, edited by Bartholomew Cotton and Henry R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1859) p. 126.

⁴⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. IV, pp. 608–9.

⁴¹ Less literary sources strongly suggest that the clipping in France was real rather than imaginary. Summarising important

events of the past fifty years, Matthew complains in 1250 that the English Church has been reduced to the state of the Jews by annual tallage, '*per avaritiam papalis curiae et regum inertiam*', (*Historia Anglorum*, vol. III, p. 316).

⁴² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, pp. 15–6.

The literary flavour of this passage – *oculo recto vel illaeso corde ... limbo literato ... patibulis laqueatos vento praesentari* – suggests to me that more than the usual amount of story telling is happening here. I believe it is in the literariness of Matthew's writing that his thought patterns most clearly emerge. While Louis punishes Henry ponders; Jews and foreigners are clipping the King's pennies; he is a weak and emasculated king.

When Henry demanded yet another tallage in 1255 the Jews responded that he had ruined them, that they had nothing left to give, and asked his permission to emigrate. Henry's response, as reported or imagined by Matthew, suggests that he (or at least Matthew as he imagined Henry) equated the financial status of the crown with its political power and stability.

Quod cum rex audisset, exclamavit querula voce, dicens, non est mirandum si aveo pecuniam. Horrendum est imaginari debita quibus teneor obligatus. Per caput Dei, ascendunt ad summam ducentorum milium marcarum, et si dicerem trium metas non transgrederer veritatis. Seducor undique. Mutilatus rex sum et abbreviatus, immo iam dimidiatus. Facta enim reddituum certa extensionis aestimatione, ascendit summa annui redditus Edwardi filii mei ad plus quam .xv. milia marcarum. Necesse igitur habeo vivere de pecunia undecunque, a quibuscunque, qualitercunque acquisita. Factus igitur alter Titus vel Vespasianus, vendidit Judaeos per aliquot annos comiti Ricardo fratri suo, ut quos rex excoriaverat, comes evisceraret.

When the king had heard their response, he exclaimed in a woeful voice, saying, 'it's no wonder I need money. It is horrible to imagine the debt to which I'm obligated. By God's head, it's upwards of 200,000 marks! And if I were to say 300,000 I would not exceed the limits of truth. I'm divided all around! I am a mutilated and shortened king, even half a king! (*Seducor undique. Mutilatus rex sum et abbreviatus, immo iam dimidiatus.*) ... I need money to live – from wherever and whomever and however I get it!' Having become, then, another Titus or Vespasian, he sold the Jews for a certain number of years to Earl Richard his brother – that those whom the king had flayed the earl might gut.⁴³

The monetary imagery here is striking, as is the suggestion of castration. Like his coins, Henry is pulled apart, mutilated, and halved. The odd phrase, 'seducor undique' is reminiscent of Peter Langtoft's description of clipping: '*Ley rays .../Fet sa monoye chaunger, ke fu trop vilement/Roygné de tuz pars ...*'⁴⁴ In this passage, Matthew punningly equated Henry with his own money in a way that would not make sense if his audience did not strongly associate the strength of the king with the value of his coins. King Henry, who suffered from coin clippers, was read as weakened, feminized and partially castrated. It is clear that by 1255 this idea was in general circulation, just like Henry's Long Cross pennies which, for the first time in generations, bore the name of a living monarch. According to this equation, the mutilation of the moneyers – who lost their right hands and testicles for debasing the currency in 1124 – was a precise retribution for their crime against the King. It was only natural for subjects who equated the king with his coins to be concerned about the circumcision of Henry's pennies.

The third period of currency anxiety was the last before the expulsion in 1290. In 1278–79 nearly all the chronicles complain of clipping, blaming both Christians and Jews. On 18 November 1278 all of the Jews in England were arrested and detained while their houses were searched. Several chronicles record that abundant evidence of clipping was found. Some also mention that homes of Christian accomplices were searched as well and damning evidence found. On 7 December goldsmiths and moneyers were also arrested. The chronicles record that many Jews were subsequently executed, and other Jews and some Christians fined and imprisoned. Zefira Rokéah estimates, on the basis of unpublished documents at the Public Records Office, that 481 Jews and 1110 Christians were convicted of currency offences, of

⁴³ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. V, pp. 487–8.

⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft in French Verse*,

edited by Peter Langtoft and Thomas Wright (Rolls Series, 1866–8), vol. II, p. 172.

whom at least 269 Jews and 61 Christians were executed. The scale of the executions, surprising as it is, is conclusively verified by the notation in Pipe Roll 7 Edward I of the expenses of the executioner – £11 0s 4½d *iusticiam facere tam de. cclxix. Iudeis quam de .xxix. Christianis*. This number of Jews would have amounted to about half the Jewish heads-of-households remaining in England.⁴⁵ It seems fair to assume that, at least in 1278–79, there was widespread clipping by Jews and Christians alike. The arrest of both Christians and Jews for the crime, as recorded in most of the chronicles, is confirmed in numerous government documents.⁴⁶ Rabbi Meir's letter to a London rabbi reflects on these events, suggesting that the rabbinate was disturbed by the practice of clipping by English Jews. And the fact that many of the accused Jews were acquitted suggests that the trials were more than show trials.

We have seen how allegations of clipping and political disaffection figured in descriptions of the currency in 1247. It appears that royal allegations of widespread clipping (possibly by Jews) were not accepted by the barons, who saw them as an excuse to raise minting fees. Matthew Paris seems to have had a foot in each camp, at once repeating the story about clipping and echoing harsh baronial criticisms of Henry. The most striking feature of the accounts of 1278 is their tone in recounting the arrests of Christians. When the *Annals of Dunstable* gloats that Christians arrested had included '*praecipue de nobilioribus Londoniae*' one senses the writer's pleasure in justice too long deferred. But while the later chronicles recount the arrests and executions with a certain relish, they also seem curiously more credulous about Jewish involvement in currency crimes. The mass execution of Jews is accepted as appropriate by chroniclers who tend to exculpate Christians by describing clipping as a Jewish crime which requires Christian collusion. Pro-baronial chroniclers of 1247, whose accounts reflected (I believe) a more popular view of events, resisted royal attempts to deflect discontent on to coin clippers; but between 1247 and 1278 a predisposition to currency crimes had become fixed in the minds of the chroniclers as part of the collective public identity of the Jews. In the change of attitude implied by the chronicles of 1278, and in the concern of the rabbis, one may find traces of the popular acceptance of a stereotype.

⁴⁵ Zefira Entin Rokéah, 'Money and the Hangman in Late-13th-century England: Jews, Christians and Coinage Offenses Alleged and Real,' *Jewish Historical Studies*, vol. 31 (1988–90), 96–8, and vol. 32 (1990–92), 160–1. Rokéah gives a lower figure for Jews executed in her tabular listing of condemned persons mentioned by name, but it is not clear that

she has retreated from her interpretation of the notation of the executioner's expenses.

⁴⁶ Six cases of tonsura, changing, or the related charge of possessing clippings in 1278 (*Plea Rolls 6 Edward I 1278*, pp. 272, 459, 467, 576, 577, 581).

TABLE 1: Recoinages 1200–1290 in English chronicles⁴⁷

CHRONICLE	1205	1247/8	1278
Anns Dunstaplia	–	<i>nova moneta</i> p. 175	clipping by Jews & Christians Christians taken for conspiring with Jews include 'praecipue de nobilioribus Londoniae' p. 279 ends in 1263
Anns of Burton	–	<i>vetus moneta mutata fuit</i> p. 285	
Anns of Osney	–	<i>nova moneta</i> p. 97	gap in chronicle
Anns of Tewkesbury	–	<i>alternatio monetae</i> p. 137	ends in 1263
Anns of Waverley	–	money so clipped it was nearly worthless p. 339	clipping by Jews & Christians monetae mutatio pp. 390–1
Anns of Winchester	<i>mutatio monetae</i> p. 79	<i>nova moneta</i> p. 91	ends in 1277
Anns of Worcester	–	<i>nova moneta</i> p. 438	clipping by Jews & Christians
Bury St Edmunds	begins 1212	<i>mutacio monete</i> p. 14	clipping by Jews & Christians
Chr of Abingdon	begins 1218	–	clipping by Jews <i>nova moneta</i> f. 89 ^v
Cotton, Bartholomew	–	<i>nova moneta</i> p. 126	clipping by Jews & Christians
Cronica Londoniarum	–	<i>retonsa</i> p. 13	ends in 1274
Matthew Paris (two chronicles)	–	clipping by Jews and foreigners (quoted in text)	ends in 1259
Wykes' Chronicle	–	<i>Rex mutavit monetam suam, quia vetus sic fuit retonsa quod quasi nullius fuit valoris ... Rex prospiciens regnum suum per egestatem pecuniae desolatum</i> p. 96	clipping by Jews and Christians

⁴⁷ I also consulted the following chronicles, which did not contain significant contemporaneous coverage of the recoinages: *Adami de Domesham*, *Annales Furnesienses*, *Annales S. Edmundi*, *Annales S. Pauli Londoniensis*, *Annales Stanleiensis*, *Annals of Margam*, *The Chronicle of Melrose*,

Ralph of Coggeshall, *Walter of Coventry*, *Flores Historiarum*, *John de Tayster*, *Roger of Wendover* and *William Rishanger*. For complete bibliographic information on these chronicles consult Graves.

THE EDNAM, ROXBURGHSHIRE, HOARD (1995)

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

with a contribution by

VALERIE E. DEAN

THE initial discovery of this hoard was made in July 1995 by Mr J.R. Shuttleworth of Kelso, while excavating foundations for his new house at Eden Road, Ednam (NT 7380 3728). The find was reported promptly to the National Museums of Scotland and to the Borders Regional Archaeologist, Mr John Dent, and around 390 coins were submitted for Treasure Trove inquiry purposes. Mr Shuttleworth then gave permission for a search of the area with metal-detectors, and this operation was carried out by Messrs R. Elliot, W. Elliot and S. Sibbald. At the conclusion of the search the number of coins recovered had risen to 1472.¹

Substantial remains of a pottery container were also collected, and traces of coin impressions in the deposit at the bottom of this vessel clearly demonstrated that it had been used to hold the hoard when it was concealed. The edges of the sherds displayed both old and recent breaks, indicating that the pot had almost certainly been broken and the coins spread to some extent by ploughing or other agricultural activity in the relatively distant past. Further damage and spreading had been caused by the excavation of the new foundations by mechanical digger, and it was clear to those searching the site that it would be impossible to claim that the entire hoard had been recovered. A scatter of coins was recovered from close to the boundary of Mr Shuttleworth's property, but the numbers were negligible when compared to the concentration of finds within the space of a few square metres around the site of the original discovery, and there is no reason to believe that a statistically valid proportion of the original assemblage is not now available for study.

Date of Deposition and Nature of the Hoard

The hoard, as recovered, comprised 1278 English pennies of Edward I and II, nineteen Irish pennies of Edward I, 149 Scottish pennies of Alexander III, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, twenty-five continental sterling imitations and one French *gros tournois*. The latest coins were twenty-one English pennies of class 15b, dating from c. 1321–22, and nineteen Scottish pennies of Robert Bruce, considered to have been minted no earlier than about 1320. The absence of any English pennies of class 15c in a hoard of this size strongly suggests that it had been concealed before coins of this class entered general circulation, i.e. in 1322 or very shortly afterwards. A date of deposition of c. 1321–22 could place the event in the context of Edward II's last, unsuccessful, expedition into Scotland in August–September 1322. English armies marched northwards through south-east Scotland to Edinburgh, but were soon forced back by famine. During the retreat an unsuccessful attempt was made to sack the abbey at Melrose, where part of the English army was ambushed.² Ednam lies only about twelve miles from Melrose, and events in the area could well have led to the concealment of wealth.

¹ The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Mr and Mrs Shuttleworth for their prompt action in reporting the initial discovery and for their agreement for further searching on their property. Sincere thanks are also due to Messrs. R. Elliot, W. Elliot and S. Sibbald for freely donating their time, efforts

and expertise in the recovery of a large part of the hoard.

² G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, 3rd edition, Edinburgh, reprinted 1992, p. 243.

The sum of money involved here – £6 2s. 7d. sterling, excluding the French *gros*, which had no legal purchasing power in Britain – represents a substantial accumulation of riches for the period. The hoard is not large by the standards of the few exceptional discoveries which have been recorded in Scotland, e.g. Montrave, Fife (1877; over 9000 coins), Aberdeen Upperkirkgate (1886; over 12,000), or even the two more recent hoards from St Nicholas Street, Aberdeen (1983 and 1984; 4493 and 2538), but it is nonetheless considerably larger than most Edwardian finds from southern Scotland, which range from a few dozen to a few hundred coins. There must therefore be a question as to whether the coins belonged to a private individual, either resident in the Ednam area or merely passing through, or to some administrative or military body.

Two aspects of the hoard may be relevant in considering this question, the first being the fact that the coins had been concealed in a pottery vessel. This would seem to suggest that the money was not in transit from one place to another when it reached Ednam, as it would presumably have been carried in a leather or fabric container rather than a ceramic jug. It is also notable that the most recently minted groups of both Scottish and English pennies in the hoard included small numbers of die-linked specimens, i.e. Robert Bruce coins probably minted at Berwick and Edward II class 15b pennies from the Durham mint (see below). This in turn suggests that the owner(s) of the hoard had access to a supply of freshly minted coins from both Scottish and English mints in the early 1320s, and the kind of person most likely to have been in this position is perhaps a merchant with business interests on both sides of the border.

Further clues to the nature of the hoard may be gleaned from an examination of the internal distribution of pennies of different mints and classes within it. Table 1 illustrates an analysis of the entire hoard by mint (excluding the *gros tournois*).

TABLE 1: Analysis of the hoard by mint

Bristol	33	2.24%
Bury St Edmunds	38	2.58%
Canterbury	324	22.03%
Chester	1	0.07%
Durham	158	10.74%
Exeter	2	0.14%
Kingston	3	0.20%
Lincoln	10	0.68%
London	634	43.10%
Newcastle	14	0.95%
York (Royal)	27	1.84%
York (Archiepiscopal)	2	0.14%
<hr/>		
Berwick	32	2.18%
Ireland	19	1.29%
Scotland	149	10.13%
Continental	12	0.82%
Imitations	13	0.88%

Table 2 illustrates an analysis of the 1246 English pennies (excluding Berwick issues) by mint and class, including the percentage of each class or group of classes emanating from each of the mints represented. In his report on the two Aberdeen hoards of 1983 and 1984, Mayhew compiled tables illustrating a comparison of similar statistics within a group of sixteen Scottish and English hoards and one Scandinavian (Kirial).³ It should be noted that the

³ N. J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St. Nicholas Street, Hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68, at p. 49, Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 2: English coins (except Berwick mint) – analysis by mint and class

	CLASS																									
	1		2		3		4		5-7		8		9		10		11-12		13-14		15		11-15		Total	
MINT	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
Bristol	-	-	2	7.14	18	13.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	9.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	2.65
Bury	-	-	-	-	1	0.73	-	-	1	7.69	-	-	3	2.08	10	1.90	11	7.64	10	12.99	2	7.69	23	9.31	38	3.05
Canterbury	-	-	2	7.14	14	10.22	40	32.79	1	7.69	-	-	19	13.19	164	31.12	52	36.11	25	32.47	7	26.92	84	34.01	324	26.00
Chester	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.08
Durham	-	-	2	7.14	5	3.65	4	3.28	1	7.69	-	-	16	11.11	59	11.20	30	20.83	26	33.77	15	57.69	71	28.74	158	12.68
Exeter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.16
Kingston	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.24
Lincoln	-	-	-	-	10	7.30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	0.80
London	12	100	19	67.86	71	51.82	78	63.93	10	76.92	16	100	71	49.31	288	54.65	51	35.42	16	20.78	2	7.69	69	27.94	634	50.88
Newcastle	-	-	-	-	2	1.46	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4.17	6	1.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	1.11
York (Royal)	-	-	3	10.71	15	10.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	6.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	2.17
York (Arch.)	-	-	-	-	1	0.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.16
Total	12	0.96%	28	2.25%	137	11.00%	122	9.79%	13	1.04%	16	1.28%	144	11.56%	527	42.30%	144	11.56%	77	6.18%	26	2.09%	247	19.83%	1246	100%

Aberdeen hoards were considered to have been deposited in the mid 1340s, and the other hoards were chosen for comparative purposes on the basis of this and belong to the 1330s or later, but it is unlikely that the introduction of pennies of classes 15c and 15d substantially altered the overall pattern of coinage in circulation.

The most obvious difference between Ednam and all the hoards considered by Mayhew lies in the proportion of Scottish coins. At Ednam there were 149, forming 10.13% of the total, whereas the percentage in the other hoards varied between 0.24 and 4.72, with only the latter figure (at Montrave) exceeding 2.80. With the exception of the atypical Renfrew hoard of 1963,⁴ a Scottish proportion above 5% is unusual; the only recently reported hoard with a figure approaching that of Ednam is that from Whitburn, West Lothian (1989), with 8.64%.⁵ (It may or may not be significant that the Whitburn hoard was dateable to 1317 – c. 1322, i.e. with a date of deposition not dissimilar to that of Ednam, although it contained no English pennies of class 15.)

When considering the proportion of English coins emanating from the major mints, it is noticeable that the figures for London and Canterbury (50.88% and 26.00%) are a little lower than the average for the hoards listed by Mayhew (51.57% and 27.83%), whereas the figure of 12.68% for Durham exceeds the average of 9.39% for the other hoards. The Durham mint therefore seems to have supplied a larger proportion of the coins at Ednam than might have been expected, and the percentage (not surprisingly) increases among the later classes represented. From just over 11% of classes 9 and 10, the figure for Durham rises to 20.83% for classes 11–12, 33.77% for classes 13–14, and 57.69% for class 15, with an overall figure for classes 11–15 of 28.74%, which exceeds that for London (27.94%) but is rather less than that for Canterbury (34.01%). It is fair to say, therefore, that the disproportionate number of 'Edward II' pennies from Durham, the most northerly English mint after the closure of Newcastle, supports a hypothesis that the hoard was accumulated in the north of Britain, and the high proportion of Scottish coins is consistent with access to a regular supply from north of the border.

The analysis of English issues by class (Table 2) may be used in considering whether or not the hoard is likely to represent a cross-section of coinage taken from circulation in the early 1320s. In comparison with the seventeen hoards studied by Mayhew, Ednam contains a smaller proportion of class 15 (2.09%) than almost all of the others, reflecting its deposition at an earlier stage within the period of production of this class. The percentages of pennies of the various other classes seem much as would be expected, with classes 3 and 4 predominant among the pre-1300 coins, class 10 providing over 42% of the total, and the number of coins of classes 9 and 11–12 identical at 11.56%. It is notable that the proportion of coins from the London mint declines rapidly after class 10, as that from Durham increases, whereas the proportion from Canterbury remains more or less consistent. A similar trend is visible in the figures for the two Aberdeen hoards,⁶ but the percentages of Durham mint coins do not rise anywhere near as high, and Canterbury becomes the major supplier of coins of classes 13–15 (Table 3). The smaller percentages of Bury St Edmunds coins of classes 13–15 at Ednam than in the Aberdeen hoards also reflects the predominant position of Durham as supplier of the latest coins in this hoard.

These figures would thus appear to support the hypothesis that the Ednam hoard represents money taken from circulation shortly before deposition, probably within the area drawing most of its fresh English coinage from the Durham mint.

⁴ P. Woodhead and I. H. Stewart, 'The Renfrew Treasure Trove 1963', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 128–47.

⁵ N. M. McQ. Holmes, 'Old and New Edwardian Hoards

from Scotland', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 41–69, at p. 59.

⁶ Mayhew, as in note 3, p. 50, Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3: Proportions of coins of classes 10–15 from the four main mints in the Aberdeen hoards of 1983 and 1984

Aberdeen 1				
<i>class</i>	10	11–12	13–14	15
London	54.07%	44.39%	27.46%	19.59%
Canterbury	30.80%	34.91%	39.75%	39.69%
Durham	10.50%	14.71%	15.57%	22.68%
Bury	3.10%	5.99%	17.21%	16.92%

Aberdeen 2				
<i>class</i>	10	11–12	13–14	15
London	55.37%	41.63%	25.90%	20.79%
Canterbury	30.90%	28.05%	47.48%	39.60%
Durham	10.08%	19.46%	10.07%	17.82%
Bury	3.10%	10.86%	16.55%	20.79%

Analysis of English classes 10 and 11

Since this is by far the largest Edwardian hoard to be published since the appearance of the *SCBI* North collection volume, in which numerous sub-divisions of class 10 were identified, it may perhaps be of interest to note the comparative frequency with which pennies of the various categories from each mint occur in the hoard. This information is encapsulated in Table 4, which also includes the figures for pennies of class 11, the currently accepted sub-divisions of which were identified somewhat earlier, but which does not appear to have been subjected to such an analysis in reports on other hoards.

TABLE 4: Ednam hoard: English pennies of classes 10 and 11

<i>Class</i>	Bury	Canterbury	Durham	London	Newcastle	Total	
10ab1 (a)	—	—	—	1	—	1	
10ab1 (b)	—	—	—	4	—	4	
10ab2	—	1	3 (1 10x)	6	1	11	+1 10x
10ab3a	—	2	2	16	{ 3 (10x) }	20	{ +3 10x }
10ab3b	—	4	—	6	—	10	
10ab4	—	1	—	4	—	5	
10ab5	3	14	—	16	—	33	
10ab6	—	—	—	—	—	—	
10cf1	—	26	7	56	—	89	
10cf2a	2	33	7	49	—	91	
10cf2b	1	9	8	7	—	25	
10cf3a1	—	8	3	20	—	31	
10cf3a2	—	1	—	4	—	5	
10cf3a3	—	7	5	13	—	25	
10cf3b1	2	32	9	54	—	97	
10cf3b2	—	2	1	6	—	9	
10cf4	—	—	1	—	—	1	
10cf5a1	—	2	—	4	—	6	
10cf5a2	—	1	3	6	—	10	
10cf5b	2	15	6	10	—	33	
10cf6	—	5	—	2	—	7	
11a1	1	4	4	7	—	16	
11a2	3	6	11	18	—	38	
11a3	1	—	—	—	—	1	
11b1	3	14	6	9	—	32	
11b2	1	15	4	14	—	34	
11b3	1	10	2	2	—	15	
11c	1	3	1	—	—	5	

N.B. Mules have been listed as the later of the two classes represented. Coins which may belong to one of two classes have been omitted.

Readers familiar with the Edwardian penny series are unlikely to be particularly surprised at any of the results of this exercise, but for those without specialist knowledge the figures may be a useful guide to the comparative commonness/scarcity of the different issues. Amongst the 10ab pennies, those of 10ab3 and 10ab5 are the most common finds, with 10ab1, 10ab4 and particularly 10ab6 all occurring relatively rarely. Pennies of 10cf are in general much more common than those of 10ab, with the earlier sub-classes most frequently encountered; 10cf3a2 and 10cf3b2 appear to be relatively scarce, however. Of the later 10cf issues, only 10cf5b may be described as common.

The most numerous of the class 11 pennies are those of the two 'substantive' issues, 11a2 and 11b2, but 11b1 coins are also common. The evidence from Ednam suggests that 11a3 pennies are rare – perhaps surprisingly, more so than those of 11c. No coins of the transitional class 11d were contained in the hoard at all.

Die-linked groups of coins

As noted above, the hoard contains small groups of die-linked specimens amongst the latest English and Scottish types represented. These coins may have formed part of parcels of coins received either directly from the respective mints or as cash payments from a person who had thus received them. In either case, they may be regarded as having been taken out of circulation very soon after entering it.

Durham mint pennies of class 15b are for the most part so poorly struck that it is a difficult task to identify definite die-links, but the following have been established among the group of thirteen coins from Ednam:

	<i>Obverse (1 lis before lion)</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Catalogue no.	576	576
	577	577
	580	580
	578	
	579	
	<i>Obverse (1 lis before and 1 behind lion)</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
	582	582
	583	583

The following links have been identified within the group of nineteen pennies of Robert Bruce, all of which have obverses with double pellet stops in the legend:

	<i>Obverse (unbarred A)</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Catalogue no.	1429	
	1430	1430
	1435	1435
	1431	
	1432	1432
	1439	1439
		1440
	1433	1433
	1437	1437
	1434	1434
	1438	1438
	<i>Obverse (barred A)</i>	
	1442	1442
	1443	1443
	1444	1444

The last batch of links serves to support the general impression that the presence or absence of a bar in the letter A on the obverse is of little significance.

The coins

English

Most of the English pennies of Edward I and II belong to standard types or variations identified by North.⁷ A number display errors in the legends, most frequently corrected by over-punching in the die (see catalogue), and it is not proposed to identify all these here. The following pieces are worthy of note on the grounds of rarity or particular distinguishing features.

BERWICK: A rare penny from the coinage of c. 1312 is in poor condition, and can only be identified as class 5* or 6 (catalogue no. 32).

BURY ST EDMUNDS: The scarcest coin from this mint is a class 5b (67).

A penny of class 11a2 has a small triangular wedge stop after VILL in the reverse legend (83).

CANTERBURY: A class 10ab2 penny bears the unusual obverse legend EDWARRANGLDNSh, possibly with a horizontal comma mark after the h (180).

A class 10ab3a coin (181) has an S in the reverse legend which resembles an unbroken 'broken' S of 10ab3b to 10ab5, whereas a 10ab3b coin (183) has an unbroken S resembling the 'flat' S of 10ab3a. The two coins are attributed to their respective classes on the basis of the form of the crown, and both have 'top-tilted' S on the obverse. It is possible that they are mules of 10ab3a/10ab3b and 10ab3b/10ab3a respectively, but it also seems possible that the 'broken' S results simply from deterioration of the 'flat' S punch through use. (A 10ab3b coin of London (911) displays a 'broken' S in apparently unbroken form on both sides.) A coin of class 10ab5 (192) has a 'broken' S on the obverse and an unbroken letter from a very similar punch on the reverse, and another (191) has the unbroken letter on both sides. These letters do not resemble the angular S associated with later coins of this class. (A 10ab5 of London (918) also has an apparently unbroken S on the reverse.) The writer has encountered problems with 'S' punches on 10ab pennies when working on other Edwardian hoards, and it appears that the sequence may not be as clear-cut as has been suggested.

Two coins of class 10cf1 have a stop after hYB in the obverse legend (225 and 226), the former bearing a crescent and the latter a wedge.

A 10cf3a1 penny (277) has a triple-pellet stop after hYB, a feature noted by North only on London coins.

The reverse of a coin of class 10cf5a1 (320) bears the S and damaged T of 10cf3b, an A with wide 'fish-tail' cross-bar and straight-sided ls.

An unusual 10cf5a1-2 transitional specimen (322) has an unbroken crown with the dexter hair-punch of wire-line C and the sinister of Mayfield, and lettering of 10cf5a2 on the reverse.

A late coin of 10cf5b (338) has the small S of 10cf6 on the obverse.

⁷ J. J. North, *The J. J. North Collection. Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279-1351* (=SCBI 39), Oxford (1989).

All five 10cf6 obverse coins (339–43) have reverses of earlier or later classes.

DURHAM: The hoard included a rare class 6b penny (440), in excellent condition.

A 10cf5al-2 transitional penny (507) is notable in displaying the same detailed features as *SCBIN* 730, but from different dies. Two other transitional coins were present (508 and 509), the latter being probably from the same dies as *SCBIN* 731.

An 11c penny (543) is from the same obverse die as *SCBIN* 852 and demonstrates that the A is of the special 11c type, not the normal form as suggested by North.

Among the 15b pennies are seven with one lis before the lion, and none behind, in the initial mark (575–81). This variety was not noted by North. Since this group contained five from the same obverse die, it may be that this type was being placed into circulation at around the time of the deposition of the hoard (see above, p. 38)

LONDON: One penny of class 1d was of the scarce ‘annulet-on-breast’ type (609).

Coin no. 704 appears to be a 3g–4al transitional, the obverse displaying features of both classes and lacking contractive marks.

The pennies of class 7 have been cross-referenced in the catalogue to the published study of this series by Greenhalgh.⁸ One coin (790) is a 7a–7b transitional, with crown of the latter and hair of the former, not included in the North Sylloge. Greenhalgh classified this as 7iii, and only two specimens were known to him.

Catalogue no. 889 appears to be a true coin of class 10ab2, not recorded by North for the London mint. The A on the reverse is certainly not that of 10ab1.

The 10ab3b coin with unbroken ‘broken’ S on each side (911) is discussed above alongside similar coins of Canterbury, as is no. 918 of class 10ab5.

A coin of class 10cf3b1 (1113) has EDWARRANGL in the obverse legend, with the second R punched over an A – cf 1117 and *SCBIN* 679, reading EDWARAANGL. On the die used for 1113 an attempt has clearly been made to rectify a similar error.

An 11b1/11b2 mule (1200) seems to be a type unknown to North, although 11b2/11b1 mules are recorded.⁹

NEWCASTLE: A class 10x penny (1246) has a triangular wedge stop in the reverse legend after NOVI.

Irish

The nineteen pennies included no notable varieties.

Scottish

The unusually large group of Alexander III single-cross pennies – totalling 113 – is useful in giving an insight into the relative commonness/scarcity of the various types in circulation in the early 1320s. Since it is generally accepted that the vast majority of pennies of this issue were minted during the 1280s, there should be no distortion of the picture resulting from different issue dates. This is also the first opportunity to study a large hoard group of Alexander III pennies since the publication of the revised classification by Stewart and North,¹⁰ and it has therefore been useful in helping to assess the completeness of the typology

⁸ D. I. Greenhalgh, ‘The Fox Class Seven Pence of Edward I’, *BNJ* 59 (1989), 77–83.

⁹ J. J. North, ‘A Re-Examination of the Class XI Pence of Edward II’, *NCirc* 92/3 (April 1984), 74–75.

¹⁰ B. H. I. H. Stewart and J. J. North, ‘Classification of the Single-Cross Sterlings of Alexander III’, *BNJ* 60 (1990), 37–64.

now in use. It is gratifying to be able to report that Ednam has produced very few variations of the published types.

Not surprisingly, the earliest classes – A and B – proved to be those least represented in the hoard. A class A2 penny (1297) displayed a minor variation in the reverse legend, with the pellet stop omitted after REX. The obverse of this coin has barred As and the N omitted from the king's name (*cf* Burns 148B, from the same die). An A2 reverse appeared muled with an early class M obverse (1303, *cf* Burns 155).

It should be noted that the obverse legends of class B, where they contain a contractive mark in GRA, have this after the R, not as accidentally printed in *BNJ* 60, p. 45. Class B obverses occurred just five times in the hoard (1298–1302), the last two of these being muled with class M reverses.

The remaining 106 Alexander III pennies belonged to the main classes M, E and D, subdivided and often found muled. As with the English pennies, there are many minor varieties of letter punch, and these are detailed in the catalogue. Of the many combinations of class and number of points on the reverse stars/mullets, only one variety was unknown to Stewart and North, this being an E2/M with 21 points, having the six points in the REX quarter (1384). Also of note is a class D2 penny (1406) which bears an unusual bust with pointed nose and a letter L resembling that of the rare class R. In general, obverses of all classes from Mb2 to D2 were well represented, and the comparative frequency of reverse points totals is much as would have been expected. Only the 27-point combination is not represented in the hoard at all, but 24, 25 and 26 points are clearly the most common.

Of the seventeen pennies of John Baliol, fifteen are of the first (rough) issue, including two of the St Andrews mint. There is one scarce first/second issue mule of St Andrews, and just one penny of the second (smooth) issue. If this is a genuine reflection of the coins in circulation, it suggests that the second issue pennies are rarer than is generally considered to be the case. It is difficult to see why they should have been deliberately excluded from a hoard.

To find nineteen pennies of Robert Bruce in a hoard of this size is unexpected, given their overall rarity, and their presence must owe much to the fact that they were being introduced into circulation at around the time when the hoard was buried. This is consistent with the evidence of the Renfrew hoard (1963), which contained five pennies, four halfpennies and seven farthings of Bruce in a total of 674 coins, the latest English being of class 15a (*c.* 1320–21).¹¹ The various die-links within the group have been discussed above (p. 38), and apart from these the most notable aspect of these coins is that all of them belong to the type having double-pellet stops in the obverse legend. Recent unpublished work by Lord Stewartby and Mr North has shown that the type with some triple-pellet stops also displays new crown and hair punches.¹² Despite the fact that this type is noticeably scarcer than the double-pellet type, its total absence from this hoard may suggest that it had not yet reached circulation at the time of deposition.

Continental sterlings and imitations, and French coin

Of the continental sterlings bearing the issuer's name, by far the most notable is that of Henry of Luxemburg as Henry VII, King of the Romans (1457). Only one specimen of this issue, with an eagle in each quarter of the reverse cross, was known to Mayhew when he compiled his standard work on sterling imitations.¹³ The Ednam specimen is from different dies, and is

¹¹ Woodhead and Stewart, as in note 12.

¹² Lord Stewartby, pers. comm. Publication forthcoming.

¹³ N. J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*, Oxford (1983), p. 102, no. 256.

in better condition. Apart from this, only one other coin, of Renaud of Gelderland (1451), is notable as a minor variety of Mayhew type 184, with a pellet on the cross-bar of the reversed N in the obverse legend.

The hoard contained twelve 'EDWARD' imitations of English type, and one of Irish type but with a London mint signature. A few of these were comparable to issues identified by Mayhew, but most were not.

The presence of a single French *gros tournois* of Philip IV (1471) is as puzzling in this context as it was in that of the Whitburn hoard of 1988.¹⁴ It must be co-incidental that single examples of this coin type have been recovered in two Scottish hoards of c. 1320 (+ or – about two years), within a period of seven years of each other, and it would at present be idle to speculate as to why the owner(s) of each of these hoards wished to retain one coin so obviously not acceptable as currency in Britain at the time.

Summary

A summary of the hoard in the *Inventory* format, using only major class divisions, could be as follows:

EDNAM, Roxburghshire, 1995.

1472 AR English, Irish, Scottish, Continental and French. Deposit 1321–22.

ENGLAND (1278 pennies):

Edward I–II: Berwick (32) – Blunt 1, 3; 2b, 1; 3b, 1; 4a, 3; 4b, 10; 4b–c, 2; 4c, 7; 5, 4; 5* or 6, 1; Bristol (33) – North 2b, 2; 3b, 1; 3c, 5; 3c–d, 2; 3d, 2; 3g, 8; 9b, 13; Bury St Edmunds (38) – 3g, 1; 5b, 1; 9b, 3; 10ab, 3; 10cf, 7; 11a, 5; 11a/b, 2; 11b, 3; 11c, 1; 13, 2; 14, 8; 15a, 1; 15b, 1; Canterbury (324) – 2b, 2; 3c, 5; 3c–d, 1; 3f, 1; 3g, 7; 4a, 10; 4b, 6; 4c, 2; 4d/c, 1; 4d, 18; 4e, 3; 5b, 1; 9a, 2; 9b, 17; 10ab, 22; 10cf, 142; 11a, 10; 11b, 39; 11b/c, 3; 13, 9; 14, 16; 15a, 1; 15b, 6; Chester (1) – 9b, 1; Durham (158) – 2b, 2; 3c, 1; 3e, 2; 3g, 2; 4b, 1; 4c, 3; 6b, 1; 9a, 1; 9b, 14; 9c, 1; 10x, 1; 10ab, 4; 10cf, 54; 11a, 15; 11b, 12; 11c, 1; 12a, 2; 13, 10; 14, 16; 15a, 2; 15b, 13; Exeter (2) – 9b, 2; Kingston (3) – 9b, 3; Lincoln (10) – 3c, 1; 3c–d, 1; 3d, 3; 3g, 5; London (634) – 1c, 5; 1d, 7; 2a, 9; 2b, 10; 3a/2b, 1; 3a, 1; 3b, 4; 3c, 13; 3c–d, 6; 3d, 10; 3f, 2; 3g, 34; 3g–4a, 1; 4a, 11; 4b, 21; 4b–c, 1; 4c, 7; 4d/c, 1; 4d, 22; 4d/e, 1; 4e/d, 1; 4e, 12; 5a, 2; 5b, 2; 6b, 2; 7a, 2; 7a–b, 1; 7b, 1; 8a, 4; 8b, 6; 8c, 6; 9a, 15; 9b, 56; 10ab, 55; 10cf, 233; 11a, 25; 11b, 25; 12b, 1; 13, 5; 14, 11; 15a, 1; 15b, 1; Newcastle (14) – 3e, 2; 9b, 6; 10x, 5; 10ab, 1; York (Royal) (27) – 2b, 3; 3b, 9; 3c, 1; 3e, 5; 9b, 9; York (Archiepiscopal) (2) – 3e, 1; 9b, 1.

IRELAND (19 pennies):

Edward I: Dublin (18) – Dolley 1, 1; 2, 3; 3(A), 1; 6(b), 7; 6(b or c), 2; Waterford (1) – 2, 1.

SCOTLAND (149 pennies):

Alexander III, second coinage (113) – Stewart and North A2, 1; B2, 3; B/M, 2; Ma/A2, 1; Ma, 1; Mb1, 2; Mb2/B2, 2; Mb2, 17; Mb2/E, 3; Mb3/E, 3; M(unc)/E, 1; Mb3/D, 1; Mc1, 1; Mc1/D, 1; Mc2, 13; Mc2/E, 10; Mc2/D, 8; E1/M, 3; E1, 8; E1/D, 5; E1/? , 1; E2/M, 1; E2, 14; E2/D, 3; D1/E, 1; D1, 1; D2/E, 2; D2, 4. John Baliol, first coinage (15) – Berwick, 13; St Andrews, 2: first/second coinage mule (1) – St Andrews, 1: second coinage (1) – Berwick, 1. Robert Bruce (19) – as Burns 1, 13; ? as Burns 1, 1; as Burns 2, 5.

CONTINENTAL (12 sterling):

Jean d'Avesnes, Mons, Mayhew 35, 1; Arnold of Looz, ? Hasselt, M.62, 1; Guillaume de Hainaut, Bishop of Cambrai, M.88, 2; Renaud of Gelderland, Arnhem, M.182, 1; M.184 var., 1; Robert de Béthune, Alost, M.212, 1; M.219, 1; Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves, M.239, 2; M.244, 1; Henry VII, King of the Romans, Méraude, M.256, 1.

IMITATIONS (13 sterling):

'EDWARD' obverses – Mayhew 374, 3; M.377, 1; others, 9.

FRANCE (1 *gros*):

Philip IV, *gros tournois*, Duplessy 213 var. or 213C, 1.¹⁵

Discovery and deposition: Found during excavation of foundation trenches for house-building, and subsequently with the assistance of metal-detectors. The coins had been contained within a pottery vessel, sherds of which were recovered. The hoard was claimed as Treasure Trove, and 242 of the coins were allocated to the National Museums of Scotland. A representative cross-section of the hoard was acquired by Scottish Borders Museums, and the remainder of the coins were returned to the original finder.

¹⁴ Holmes, as in note 13, p. 60.

¹⁵ J. Duplessy, *Les Monnaies Françaises Royales de Hughes*

Capet à Louis XVI (987–1793), vol. I (Paris and Maastricht, 1988).

VALERIE E. DEAN

Most of the 81 sherds recovered (weighing 500 g) have been reassembled to produce a squat, globular jug with a slightly sagging base (Fig. 1). Although the rim, neck and handle are missing, its form can be assumed with a degree of confidence. The point of attachment of the lower end of a handle can just be discerned. The jug is wheel-made, thin-bodied, and displays finger rilling at shoulder level, both inside and out, and a pronounced ridge runs around the base of the neck. The vessel is of a hard, gritty fabric, and is partially reduced, with a light reddish-brown exterior where unglazed. The interior is oxidised and varies from light reddish-brown through pinkish-grey to greyish-brown, and the reduced core is dark grey. In section, this gives a 'sandwich' appearance, with a thin, pale grey skin showing beneath the glaze. The light olive-brown external glaze covers only the upper half of the body, although splashes are present on the lower body and on the base.

The importance of this vessel is its association with a hoard of coins dating to no later than 1322, which may provide the earliest secure date for this type of fabric, although a little similar material (Kelso fabric 3) has been found in a late 12th-century pit group at Kelso Abbey.¹⁶ Comparable ware with white quartz inclusions is widely found in Southern Scotland, at Bothwell,¹⁷ Eyemouth Fort,¹⁸ Fast Castle, Berwickshire,¹⁹ and The Hirsell, Coldstream,²⁰ in contexts dated to as late as the mid 17th century. This vessel may well be a product of the long suspected Tweed Valley pottery industry. The form of the vessel, however, would fit into the earlier half of this period. Squat, globular jugs have been noted at Kelso (late 12th century),²¹ Jedburgh (13th century),²² and Perth (mid 13th to 15th century),²³ although the fabrics were different.

The fact that the vessel's neck and handle were not found could suggest that they had been deliberately removed, either to facilitate access to the contents or to enable it to be more easily buried. This is a feature which has been noted on other coin hoard jugs, the dates of which range from the 14th to the 17th century, such as those from Forgandenny, Grangemouth and Lochmaben, held in the collections of the National Museums of Scotland. On the other hand, they may simply be vessels which were already broken and thus of no use for their original purpose.

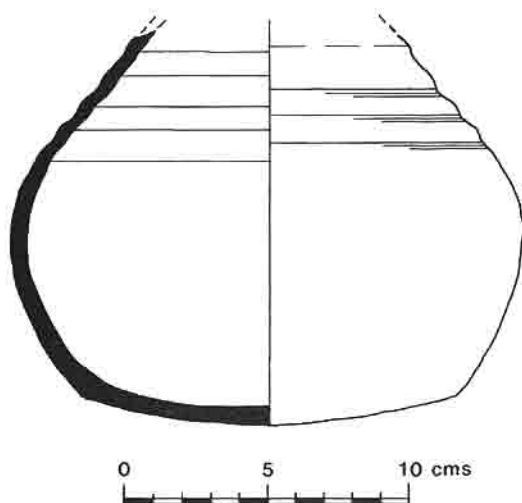


Fig. 1: The pottery vessel.

¹⁶ E. Cox, G. Haggarty and J. G. Hurst, 'Ceramic Material' in 'Excavations at Kelso Abbey' by C. J. Tabraham, *PSAS* 114 (1984), 365-404, at pp. 381-98.

¹⁷ S. Cruden, 'Scottish Mediaeval Pottery, the Bothwell Castle Collection', *PSAS* 86 (1951-52), 140-70.

¹⁸ J. Franklin, 'The Ceramics' in 'Eyemouth Fort' by D. H. Caldwell and G. Ewart (forthcoming).

¹⁹ Forthcoming report on excavations by the Edinburgh

Archaeological Field Society.

²⁰ Forthcoming report by V. E. Dean and S. Mills.

²¹ Cox *et al.* as in note 2, fig. 26.

²² S. Cruden, 'Scottish Mediaeval Pottery', *PSAS* 89 (1955-56), 67-82, at fig. 7.

²³ N. L. MacAskill, 'The Pottery' in *Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Perth 1979-81* by P. Holdsworth (= *Scot. Ant. Scot. Monogr. Series* 5, 1987), pp. 89-120, at fig. 48.

LIST OF COINS

An asterisk indicates an illustrated coin.

Number

Weight in grammes
(after cleaning)

ENGLAND

Edward I-II pennies (*SCBI* North 1989 classification)*Berwick on Tweed*

1	1; wide face, wedge stops, pellet on chin; hYB//VILL/ABE/REV/VICI; barred A on reverse	1.45
2	1; narrow face, crescent stops, pellet on chin; VILL/ABE/REV/VICI	1.41
3	1; narrow face, uncertain stops; VILL/ABE/REV/VICI	1.23
4*	2b; [VILL]/ABE/R[E]V/VICI	1.37
5*	3b	1.33
6	4a (<i>SCBIN</i> 1135)	1.39
7-8	4a; pellet on breast (<i>SCBIN</i> 1137-8)	1.49, 1.35
9-18	4b (<i>SCBIN</i> 1139) (17 buckled)	1.63, 1.55, 1.54, 1.43, 1.37, 1.34, 1.28, 1.23, 1.22, 1.12
19-20	4b-c (20 corroded)	1.31, 1.23
21-24	4c (<i>SCBIN</i> 1140)	1.40, 1.39, 1.34, 1.32
25-26	4c; solid eyes (<i>SCBIN</i> 1141-2)	1.43, 1.22
27	4c; ? solid eyes	1.40
28	5 (<i>SCBIN</i> 1144)	1.27
29-30	5; EDWAR (<i>SCBIN</i> 1145)	1.38, 1.25
31*	5; minute pellet after R on obverse; ? same obverse die as <i>SCBIN</i> 1146	1.54
32*	5* or 6; [E]DWA//: VIL/L AB/E RE/W YCI; Gothic Es on reverse	1.25

Bristol

33-34	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 63-64)	1.39, 1.31
35	3b; crescent marks (<i>SCBIN</i> 82-83)	1.41
36	3c; h2, S1, R1?; face 2a	1.19
37	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 2a	1.45
38	3c; h?, S?, R?/R?, S1; face 2a; mis-struck, obverse weak	1.29
39	3c; h2, S1, R2/R1?; face 2b	1.35
40*	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 2b; OL on reverse punched over other letters	1.41
41	3c-d; h2, S1, R?/R1	1.36
42	3c-d; h2, S2, R?	1.39
43	3d; h2, S1, R1/R2; thick neck	1.33
44	3d; h2, S?, R?/S2, R3; thick neck	1.36
45-46	3gl; S2; stops 2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 158)	1.35, 1.35
47	3gl; S2; stops 2?	1.41
48	3g2; S3/2; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 177)	1.34
49	3g2; S3; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 178)	1.43
50	3g2; S3; stops uncertain	1.39
51-52	3g3; S3; stops 5 (<i>SCBIN</i> 193)	1.36, 1.32
53	9bl; Roman Ns; contractive marks; star; VILL'	1.37
54	9bl; unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; no star; VILL'	1.41
55	9bl; unbarred 1 Ns; hYB'; star; VILL'	1.40
56	9bl; pot-hook Ns; star; VILL'	1.38
57	9bl; pot-hook Ns; star; VILL'	1.37
58-59	9bl; pot-hook Ns; no star; VILL (<i>SCBIN</i> 380)	1.39, 1.38
60	9bl; pot-hook Ns; star?; VILL'	1.12
61*	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star; l in BRI punched over an S; VILL', but <i>not</i> from same reverse die as <i>SCBIN</i> 431	1.42
62-63	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star; VILL'	1.37, 1.37
64	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star; some double-striking in legends	1.39
65	9b2; pot-hook Ns; no star; VILL'	1.39
<i>Bury St Edmunds</i>		
66	3gl; S2/h1, R1; stops 1?	1.38
67*	5b; almond eyes (<i>SCBIN</i> 283)	1.22
68	9b1; pot-hook Ns/Roman N with pot-hook uprights; star	1.42
69	9b1; pot-hook Ns/Roman N with pot-hook uprights; star?	1.44
70	9b2; pot-hook Ns/Roman N with pot-hook uprights; star	1.28
71	10ab5 (definitive); angular/broken S	1.34

72	10ab5 (definitive); angular S/?	1.14
73	10ab5 (late); late A, R2, angular S	1.40
74	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N2	1.35
75	10cf2a; A?, E2, h1?, N1	1.30
76	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2; slight trace of dexter ornament in crown	1.47
77	10cf3b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 698–99)	1.33
78	10cf3b1; V in VILL punched over a C	1.26
79	10cf5b; straight-sided N on reverse	1.28
80	10cf5b?; slight double-striking in obverse legend	1.39
81	11a1; A2, R2; surfaces corroded	1.33
82	11a2; V in VILL punched over a C; large letter C (<i>SCBIN</i> 796)	1.30
83*	11a2; triangular wedge stop after VILL	1.47
84	11a2?; angular closed C and round E on reverse; surfaces corroded	1.25
85*	11a3; large open C, but small rounded E, on reverse	1.34
86–87	11a3/1b1; both from the same obverse and reverse dies	1.43, 1.37
88	11b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 816)	1.44
89	11b2	1.37
90	11b3; EDWAR; R3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 845)	1.45
91	11c; V in VILL punched over a C	1.45
92–93	13; broken E on obverse; large R with curved upright; EDWAR·R·; both from same obverse and reverse dies (<i>SCBIN</i> 895 – same obverse die)	1.39, 1.36
94–95	14; broken E; thin initial cross	1.34; 1.28
96	14; broken E; thin initial cross with pellet by sinister arm; ? from same obverse die as <i>SCBIN</i> 914	1.49
97	14; broken E; thicker initial cross	1.44
98–100	14; new E (<i>SCBIN</i> 915) (no. 100 slightly corroded)	1.39, 1.36, 1.33
101	14; new E; EDWAR·R·	1.37
102	15a	1.48
103	15b (<i>SCBIN</i> 932)	1.47
	<i>Canterbury</i>	
104	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 68)	1.38
105	2b; slightly double-struck	1.39
106	3c; h?, S1, R1; face 1?	1.30
107	3c; h2, S1, R2/R1; face 2a	1.41
108	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 2a	1.33
109	3c; h2, S1, R2?/R1; face 2b	1.24
110	3c; h?, S?, R2/S1; face 2b	1.29
111	3c–d; h2, S1, R?	1.36
112	3f; crescent or comma marks; double-struck	1.33
113	3g1; S2; stops 3	1.38
114–116	3g2; S3; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 179)	1.39, 1.39, 1.35
117	3g2; S3; stops 3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 180)	1.32
118	3g2?; S3; stops 4	1.34
119	3g3; S3; stops 4	1.41
120	4a1?; poorly struck	1.37
121–122	4a2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 207)	1.32, 1.30
123	4a2; backward-tilting S on obverse only	1.25
124–125	4a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 209)	1.27, 1.22
126*	4a4; barred As; h2, R2; square face	1.37
127	4a4; barred A and composite S on obverse; oval face (<i>SCBIN</i> 211)	1.32
128	4a4; straight-sided letters; barred As; h?, R1?; oval face; some weak striking	1.31
129	4a4; much weak striking	1.36
130	4b; straight-sided letters on reverse	1.42
131	4b; straight-sided letters on both sides	1.34
132	4b; broken hair; straight-sided letters on obverse; slight corrosion	1.26
133	4b; broken jewel and hair; straight-sided letters on both sides	1.37
134	4b; broken hair; drapery in one piece	1.35
135	4b; broken jewel and hair; drapery in one piece	1.41
136–137	4c; barred As (<i>SCBIN</i> 240–41)	1.40, 1.35
138	4d/4c (<i>SCBIN</i> 250)	1.29
139–142	4d; barred As (<i>SCBIN</i> 251)	1.44, 1.40, 1.39, 1.38

143–154	4d (<i>SCBIN</i> 252) (153 slightly clipped; 154 buckled and split	1.43, 1.42, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.38, 1.26, 1.25, 1.10, 1.01
155	4d; unbarred A on obverse; reverse As uncertain	1.37
156	4d; pellet on obverse not visible – probably off flan	1.34
157–158	4e; pellet before TAS (<i>SCBIN</i> 263)	1.39, 1.31
159	4e; no pellet on reverse	1.41
160	5b; ? almond eyes	1.35
161	9a1; incurved/straight letters; star	1.36
162	9a2; straight letters; barred Ns on obverse; star?	1.42
163–164	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 382)	1.39, 1.36
165–166	9b1; pot-hook/unbarred 2 Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 384)	1.43, 1.33
167–171	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 385)	1.47, 1.39, 1.36, 1.30, 1.22
172	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 387)	1.39
173	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star?	1.36
174	9b1; pot-hook* Ns; pellet on breast (<i>SCBIN</i> 388 – same obverse die)	1.40
175	9b2; pot-hook/unbarred 1 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 425); clipped?	1.27
176	9b2; pot-hook*/pot-hook Ns; no star	1.43
177	9b2; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 428)	1.34
178–179	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 429)	1.40, 1.36
180*	10ab2; EDWARRANGDSh[?]	1.42
181*	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'; top-tilted/flat S (? unbroken 'broken' S)	1.41
182	10ab3a; hYB'; top-tilted/uncertain S; obverse double-struck	1.34
183*	10ab3b; hYB' (?); top-tilted S/'broken' S (in unbroken form)	1.26
184–186	10ab3b; broken S on both sides (no. 186 slightly chipped)	1.41, 1.40, 1.38
187	10ab4; normal W; unbarred Ns on obverse	1.44
188	10ab5; full contractive marks	1.37
189	10ab5; broken/uncertain S	1.43
190	10ab5; uncertain S	1.36
191*	10ab5; hYB'; unbroken 'broken' S	1.42
192*	10ab5; hYB'; unbroken 'broken' S on reverse	1.36
193–194	10ab5; hYB' (?)	1.41, 1.41
195	10ab5; ?angular S on obverse	1.34
196	10ab5; late lettering on obverse; very slightly chipped	1.37
197–201	10ab5; late lettering	1.41, 1.41, 1.39, 1.38, 1.36
202	10cf1 (early, 2); EDWARANGDShYB; reverse of late 10ab5 (<i>SCBIN</i> 572–73); slightly clipped ?	1.38
203	10cf1 (definitive); reverse of late 10ab5	1.38
204–224	10cf1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 588 etc) (221 clipped, 224 partially corroded)	1.46, 1.44, 1.43, 1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.42, 1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.37, 1.37, 1.35, 1.33, 1.31, 1.30, 1.29, 1.28, 1.19, 1.10
225*	10cf1; hYB' (crescent stop)	1.43
226*	10cf1; hYB' (wedge stop)	1.41
227	10cf1; CAN/TOR/CAN/TOR; unbarred Ns on reverse	1.45
228–233	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1; 233 clipped	1.43, 1.40, 1.38, 1.35
234	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1; dexter spearhead barely visible	1.43
235	10cf2a; A1, E1?, h1, N2/A2, N2	1.40
236–237	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 608)	1.45, 1.36
238	10cf2a; A1, E?, h1, N1	1.37
239	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N1/A2, N2	1.40
240	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1?, N1/A2, N2; slight corrosion	1.34
241	10cf2a; A1, E2, h?, N1	1.40
242	10cf2a; A1, E?, h1?, N1/A2, N2	1.40
243	10cf2a; A1?, E1?, h?, N2/A2, N2	1.43
244	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2/A1, N1; hYB:	1.39
245–249	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2	1.45, 1.40, 1.38, 1.36, 1.16
250–251	10cf2a; A2, E?, h2, N2	1.46, 1.41
252–253	10cf2a; A2, E2, h3, N2	1.38, 1.34
254	10cf2a; A2, E?, h3, N2	1.28
255	10cf2a; A2, E2, h?, N2; uneven striking	1.35
256	10cf2a; A?, E2, h?, N?/A1, N1; obverse weakly struck	1.11
257	10cf2a; A2, E?, h?, N2; much weak striking	1.43
258	10cf2a; A2?, E?, h2?, N2; uneven striking	1.41
259	10cf2a; A2?, E?, h2?, N2/A2, N2; uneven striking	1.40

260	10cf2a; A?, E2, h?, N1/A2, N?; some weakness and double-striking	1.29
261	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2, h2, N2	1.40
262	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2?, h2?, N2	1.41
263	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2?, h3?, N2; flawed hair	1.39
264	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2, h3, N2	1.37
265	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair; T of TOR over a C(?)	1.43
266–267	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.43, 1.32
268	10cf2b; A2, D?, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.41
269	10cf2b; A2, D?, E?, h2?, N2; flawed hair; slight corrosion	1.33
270	10cf3a1; face 1; some double-striking	1.31
271	10cf3a1; face 1; unbarred Ns on obverse	1.41
272	10cf3a1; face 1?; unbarred N on reverse; obverse weak and slightly double-struck	1.37
273–275	10cf3a1; face 2; some corrosion on no. 275	1.43, 1.40, 1.25
276	10cf3a1; face 2; hYB?; reversed and mis-shapen comma mark	1.30
277*	10cf3a1; face 2; hYB:	1.39
278	10cf3a2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 658)	1.39
279–284	10cf3a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 665); 284 chipped and bent, with slight corrosion	1.42, 1.41, 1.39, 1.38, 1.37, 1.35
285	10cf3a3(?); obverse poorly struck	1.36
286	10cf3a, uncertain sub-class; bust very poorly struck	1.44
287–303	10cf3b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 685–87); 294 has slight edge damage; some double-striking on 295, 298 and 300; 302 and 303 clipped	1.45, 1.44, 1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.39, 1.36 1.35, 1.35, 1.34, 1.34, 1.30, 1.26, 1.18
304	10cf3b1; minute pellets after G and L, and within D, on obverse	1.36
305	10cf3b1; peak-backed E	1.42
306	10cf3b1; die originally read hB, with Y inserted as a correction	1.43
307–308	10cf3b1; broken chin	1.42, 1.40
309–310	10cf3b1; broken O	1.37, 1.37
311	10cf3b1; unbarred Ns on obverse; broken O; surfaces corroded	1.19
312–316	10cf3b1; broken chin; broken O (<i>SCBIN</i> 689); some double-striking on 314	1.36, 1.35
317	10cf3b1; hYB::; broken chin; broken O; unbarred N on reverse	1.39
318	10cf3b2; some corrosion	1.35
319	10cf3b2; ?seriffed N in ANGL; broken O	1.34
320*	10cf5a1; reverse has S and damaged T of 10cf3b, but A with wide 'fish-tail' cross-bar and straight-sided ls	1.37
321	10cf5a1; thicker initial cross; reverse of 10cf3b2 or 10cf4	1.35
322*	10cf5a1/2 transitional; unbroken crown; dexter hair-punch of wire-line C, sinister of Mayfield; much flattening in obverse legend; reverse lettering of 10cf5a2	1.44
323	10cf5a2 or 10cf5b; double-struck, with flan turned over between strikings	1.45
324–325	10cf5b; 325 double-struck on both sides	1.46, 1.32
326–328	10cf5b; unbarred N on reverse	1.39, 1.33, 1.30
329	10cf5b; late A in EDWA	1.43
330–333	10cf5b; late As on obverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 753); corrosion on obverse of 332 and on both sides of 333	1.46, 1.42, 1.39, 1.10
334	10cf5b; late As on obverse (? and on reverse); surfaces corroded	1.25
335	10cf5b; late As on both sides	1.33
336	10cf5b; ? late As on both sides	1.19
337	10cf5b; late As on both sides; unbarred N on reverse	1.40
338*	10cf5b; late As; small S of 10cf6 on obverse; some double-striking	1.41
339–341		
(340*)	10cf6; reverse of late 10cf5b	1.41, 1.40, 1.37
342–343*	10cf6; reverse of 11a1 with wide N and tilted S (<i>SCBIN</i> 765)	1.42, 1.38
344	11a1; A and R of uncertain type; reverse of 10cf5b, with incurved N, and C of CAN over another letter; much surface corrosion	1.23
345	11a1; A1, R1/R2; tilted S on reverse	1.39
346	11a1; A1, R2; tilted S on obverse	1.41
347	11a1; A1, R?/R2; tilted S on both sides	1.39
348	11a1/11a2; A1, A2, R2/large angular C	1.44
349–352	11a2; large angular C (<i>SCBIN</i> 787); slight corrosion on nos. 349 and 351	1.39, 1.37, 1.36, 1.34
353	11a2; small C	1.40
354–364	11b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 809–10); some corrosion on 364	1.42, 1.42, 1.41, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39 1.38, 1.37, 1.34, 1.34

365*	11b1; S of TAS over an N; some corrosion on obverse	1.37
366*	11b1; N on reverse over an S(?) – appears reversed	1.43
367	11b1?; surfaces corroded	1.12
368–380	11b2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 826); slight corrosion on 370, 373, 379 and 380; 376 and 378 double-struck 1.45, 1.44, 1.41, 1.40, 1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.38, 1.37, 1.34, 1.33, 1.33	
381	11b2; EDWAR; surfaces corroded	1.21
382	11b2; obverse corroded	1.34
383	11b2/11b3	1.27
384–386	11b3; R1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 835)	1.44, 1.37, 1.34
387	11b3; R1; G of ANGL double-punched	1.33
388	11b3; R1/R2	1.46
389	11b3; ?R1/R?	1.41
390	11b3; R3	1.44
391	11b3; R3*; EDWAR	1.33
392	11b3?; ?R3/R3*; some poor striking and surface corrosion	1.40
393	11b3/11c; R1	1.37
394	11b3/11c; R2/R1; slight corrosion	1.43
395	11b3/11c; ?R2/R1	1.44
396–397	13; R1; 397 double-struck	1.45, 1.39
398*	13; R1; EDWA	1.44
399	13; R2/R1	1.43
400–402	13; R2; slightly damaged E	1.46, 1.42, 1.36
403–404	13; R2; broken E (<i>SCBIN</i> 889)	1.41, 1.39
405–407	14; broken E; thin initial cross (<i>SCBIN</i> 902)	1.44, 1.44, 1.41
408–409	14; broken E; no. 408 badly bent	1.48, 1.41
410–411	14; ? broken E; slight surface corrosion on 410	1.39, 1.38
412–415	14; new E	1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.38
416	14; new E; C of CAN over another letter (?T)	1.39
417	14; ? new E	1.41
418–420	14; uncertain E; some corrosion on 418 and 420; some double-striking and flattening on 419	1.43, 1.40, 1.35
421	15a (<i>SCBIN</i> 921–22)	1.44
422–427	15b (<i>SCBIN</i> 926–27)	1.44, 1.43, 1.41, 1.38, 1.35, 1.32
	<i>Chester</i>	
428*	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 389)	1.27
	<i>Durham</i>	
429–430	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 71–72); 430 partially clipped	1.34, 1.12
431	3c; h2, S1, R2/R1; face 2b	1.27
432	3e; slightly damaged hair	1.42
433	3e; damaged hair	1.32
434–435	3g2; S3; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 183)	1.36, 1.33
436	4b; late face and drapery; broken jewel and hair (<i>SCBIN</i> 235)	1.32
437–438	4c; barred As (<i>SCBIN</i> 242)	1.46, 1.42
439	4c; barred A on reverse; obverse A uncertain; V of CIV over another letter	1.41
440*	6b; face 2; sinister hair-punch double-struck in the die (<i>SCBIN</i> 299 – same obverse die)	1.43
441	9a2; straight letters; barred Ns on both sides; contractive marks; star	1.44
442	9b1; cross moline initial mark; Roman/unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 397)	1.42
443	9b1; cross moline initial mark; unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; no star	1.27
444	9b1; plain cross; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 401)	1.35
445	9b1; plain cross; pot-hook Ns; star; double-struck, with blank turned over between strikings	1.35
446	9b1; plain cross; pot-hook Ns; no star; local reverse die	1.33
447	9b1; local dies; barred A and N on obverse (9c?); unbarred N on reverse; double-struck; initial mark illegible	1.59
448	9b2; cross moline; Roman Ns with pot-hook uprights/unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; star	1.36
449–450	9b2; plain cross initial mark; unbarred 2 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 440)	1.45, 1.37
451	9b2; plain cross; unbarred 2 Ns; ?star	1.37
452	9b2; plain cross; unbarred 2/pot-hook Ns; contractive marks; no star	1.31
453–455	9b2; plain cross; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 443–44); some corrosion on reverse of 455	1.40, 1.38, 1.22
456	9b2; plain cross; double-barred A and N on obverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 462)	1.33
457	10x (9b1/10ab2); plain cross; DVR/ΕΗΙΕ; v of DVR over another letter	1.34

458	10ab2; EDWAR – hY; hair and drapery of 9b;? same obverse die as SCBIN 500; DVR/ENIE	1.37
459	10ab2; ANGL; reverse of 9c; DVR/ENIE	1.47
460	10ab3a; hYB; top-tilted S; DVR/ENIE	1.50
461	10ab3a; hYB; top-tilted/uncertain S; DVR/ENIE	1.42
462–467	10cf1; cross moline (SCBIN 594–96); some surface corrosion on 465	1.42, 1.41, 1.37, 1.28, 1.26, 1.23
468	10cf1; cross moline; DV over other letters (?CA)	1.44
469–471	10cf2a; cross moline; A1, E1, h1, N1	1.42, 1.38, 1.25
472	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N2	1.26
473	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E2?, h2, N2 / A1, E1	1.05
474	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E2, h2?, N2	1.50
475	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E2?, h3?, N2	1.36
476	10cf2a; cross moline; A2, E?, h1?, N1? / A1, E2?; poorly struck, with slight double-striking on obverse	1.28
477	10cf2a; plain cross; A2, E2, h3, N2 (SCBIN 619)	1.47
478–481	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2 (SCBIN 626)	1.51, 1.44, 1.33, 1.19
482	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3?, N2	1.53
483	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h?, N2; slight surface corrosion	1.12
484	10cf2b; A2, D?, E2, h?, N2	1.36
485	10cf2b; A2, D?, E?, h2, N2 / D2, E2	1.28
486	10cf3a1; face 1; nicked D on both sides (SCBIN 650)	1.37
487	10cf3a1; face 1; nicked D on obverse only (SCBIN 651)	1.31
488	10cf3a1(?); very weakly struck	1.37
489	10cf3a3; plain cross; hYB (cf SCBIN 667)	1.29
490–491	10cf3a3; cross moline (SCBIN 669)	1.45, 1.39
492	10cf3a3; cross moline; R on obverse struck over an N (SCBIN 679 – ? same obverse die)	1.26
493	10cf3a3 (?); cross moline; very weakly struck	1.25
494–496	10cf3b1; cross moline (SCBIN 691); slight corrosion on 496	1.47, 1.47, 1.13
497	10cf3b1; cross moline; As without exaggerated left serif	1.51
498	10cf3b1; cross moline; As on obverse without exaggerated left serif	1.37
499*	10cf3b1; cross moline; N of ANGL over an A; DV of DVR over ?CA	1.44
500	10cf3b1; cross moline; first E of EME over another letter	1.32
501–502	10cf3b1; cross moline; weak striking on both obverses	1.39, 1.31
503	10cf3b1; cross moline over plain cross (SCBIN 694)	1.20
504	10cf3b1; plain cross (SCBIN 697)	1.32
505	10cf3b2; cross moline over plain cross	1.46
506	10cf4 (SCBIN 719)	1.32
507*	10cf5a1/2 transitional; plain cross initial mark; unbroken crown; face, sinister hair and lettering as 10cf5a2; unbarred N in ANGL (SCBIN 730, but not from same dies)	1.49
508	10cf5a1/2 transitional; as 507, but details of face and hair uncertain; much flattening on both sides	1.28
509*	10cf5a1/2 transitional; as 507, but reverse of 10cf5a2, with incurved Is (SCBIN 731; ? from same dies)	1.16
510–513	10cf5b (SCBIN 754 etc); bust on 511 poorly struck	1.44, 1.37, 1.33, 1.16
514	10cf5b; uneven striking	1.23
515	10cf5b?; obverse poorly struck; buckled	1.27
516	11a1; cross moline over plain cross; Mayfield hair; tilted S; A2, R2	1.36
517	11a1; cross moline over plain cross; Mayfield hair; uncertain A, R and S	1.40
518	11a1; cross moline, ? over plain cross; Mayfield hair; tilted S; A2, R2	1.22
519	11a1; A2, R2; buckled fragment	0.94
520–523	11a2; cross moline (SCBIN 791)	1.51, 1.39, 1.37, 1.36
524–525	11a2; cross moline over plain cross; EDWAR (SCBIN 792)	1.43, 1.33
526–527	11a2; plain cross; large C on reverse (SCBIN 794); 526 double-struck	1.47, 1.40
528*	11a2; plain cross; wide double-barred N and large angular C on reverse	1.37
529	11a2; [plain cross?]; crozier head on reverse; slight surface corrosion	1.38
530	11a2?; plain cross; much surface corrosion	1.09
531–536	11b1 (SCBIN 811)	1.44, 1.42, 1.38, 1.37, 1.36, 1.18
537	11b2/11b1 (SCBIN 829)	1.21
538–539	11b2 (SCBIN 830); both with slight corrosion on reverse	1.65, 1.13
540	11b2; uncertain reverse; poorly struck	1.38
541–542	11b3; uncertain R	1.50, 1.32

543*	11c; R1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 852 – from same obverse die, which has special A in ANGL, not normal A as suggested by North)	1.41
544*–545	12a; R1; trefoil ornaments in crown (<i>SCBIN</i> 869–71 – ? same obverse die)	1.47, 1.45
546–548	13 (Kellawe); R1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 890)	1.41, 1.40, 1.33
549	13 (Kellawe); R2	1.26
550–551	13 (Kellawe); R2; broken E (<i>SCBIN</i> 892)	1.37, 1.35
552	13 (Kellawe); uncertain R; intact E; uneven striking	1.54
553	13?; uncertain R; intact E; uneven striking	1.34
554	13?; uncertain R; ? broken E	1.39
555	13 (Beaumont); two lis before lion; R2	1.43
556	14; broken E; one lis before lion	1.44
557	14; broken E; two lis before lion	1.31
558–560	14; broken E/new E; one lis before and one behind lion; slight corrosion on 560	1.41, 1.36, 1.31
561	14; broken E/uncertain E; two lis before lion	1.44
562	14; broken E/uncertain E; one lis before and one behind lion	1.49
563	14; ?broken E/new E; two lis before lion	1.36
564	14; ?broken E/uncertain E; one lis before and one behind lion; poor striking; reverse double-struck	1.41
565	14; new E/?broken E; one lis before and one behind lion; reverse slightly double-struck; bent	1.43
566–567	14; new E; one lis before and one behind lion	1.30, 1.29
568	14; new E; one lis before and one behind lion; minute pellets or wedges in EDWAR'R'ANGL'	1.25
569	14; new E/uncertain E; one lis before and one behind lion; slight surface corrosion	1.29
570–571	14; uncertain E/new E; initial mark illegible; 571 badly bent	1.30, 1.29
572	15a; one lis before lion	1.59
573	15a; surfaces corroded and pitted	0.92
574	15b; two lis before lion (<i>SCBIN</i> 928–29)	1.37
575–581 (581*)	15b; one lis before lion; initial mark not legible on 576–579, but established from die-links; 576–580 from same obverse die; 576–577 and 589 also from same reverse die	1.45, 1.44 1.44, 1.40, 1.39, 1.34, 1.20
582–583	15b; one lis before and one behind lion (<i>SCBIN</i> 930); from same obverse (? and reverse) die	1.37, 1.29
584	15b; ? one lis before, and one behind lion	1.31
585–586	15b; initial mark illegible	1.40, 1.27
<i>Exeter</i>		
587	9b1; pot-hook Ns/Roman Ns with pot-hook uprights; star	1.32
588*	9b2; pot-hook Ns/Roman Ns with pot-hook uprights; star; diagonal bar between N and I on reverse	1.42
<i>Kingston upon Hull</i>		
589*	9b1; pot-hook/Roman Ns; star	1.38
590	9b2; pot-hook/unbarred I Ns; star	1.43
591	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 453)	1.35
<i>Lincoln</i>		
592	3c; h1, S?, R2?: face 3 with wide shoulders; slightly clipped	1.14
593	3c–d; h2, S1?, R1/S2; thick neck	1.37
594	3d; h2, S1, R?/S2; thick neck	1.24
595*	3d; h2, S2, R1; thick neck; long comma mark after COL	1.33
596	3d; h2, S2, R?/S1?; thick neck	1.38
597–598	3g1; S2; stops 2	1.34, 1.26
599	3g1; S2; stops ?2/1	1.40
600	3g1; S2; stops ?2/3	1.31
601	3g2; S3/S2; stops 1/1	1.36
<i>London</i>		
602*	1c; N/II; ANGL'REX; crown 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 27 – ? same obverse die)	1.38
603*	1c; II/IN; DHS; crown 1 variation (lozenge as dexter ornament, nothing to sinister); obverse from same die as <i>SCBIN</i> 29 ?	1.37
604*	1c; II/IN; crown 2; E of REX over another letter (?X)	1.35
605	1c; II/N; crown 2	1.33
606	1c; II/N; crown 2	1.31
607	1d; NI/II; face 1	1.21
608*	1d; N/II; face 1; CIVI/TAS/TAS/LOII	1.32
609*	1d; NI/II; face 1; annulet on breast	1.37

610	1d; N/И; face 2	1.29
611	1d; N II/N; face 2; ? no sinister jewel in crown	1.08
612	1d; И/N; face 3	1.36
613	1d; И/НИ; face 1; variety crown	1.37
614–615	2a; И/N; face 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 47)	1.39, 1.10
616	2a; И/N; face 2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 49)	1.40
617–620	2a; И/N; face 2 (<i>SCBIN</i> 50)	1.40, 1.39, 1.38, 1.36
621	2a; НИ/И; face 2	1.37
622	2a; ИN/ИN; face 2	1.39
623–631	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 60); 630 and 631 slightly clipped	1.45, 1.39, 1.35, 1.33, 1.32, 1.26, 1.16, 1.14, 1.13
632	2b; sinister spearhead broken	1.29
633	3a/2b mule	1.36
634	3a (<i>SCBIN</i> 76)	1.36
635	3b; bifoliate crown; crescent and comma marks (<i>SCBIN</i> 79)	1.34
636	3b; bifoliate crown; crescent and ?comma marks	1.37
637	3b; trifoliate crown; crescent marks	1.27
638	trifoliate crown; comma marks, formed of a crescent and a line (<i>SCBIN</i> 81)	1.35
639–640	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 2a	1.41, 1.20
641	3c; h2, S1, R2?; face 2a	1.38
642	3c; h2, S1, R?; face 2a	1.31
643	3c; h2?, S1, R2; face 2a	1.20
644	3c; h?, S1, R?; face 2a	1.39
645	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 2b; partially clipped	1.18
646	3c; h2, S1, R2?; face 2b	1.32
647–648	3c; h2, S1, R?; face 2b	1.39, 1.30
649	3c; h2, S2, R2; face 2b, with thick neck	1.37
650–651	3c; h2, S1, R2; face 3	1.36, 1.35
652	3c–d; h2, S1, R2	1.41
653	3c–d; h2, S1?, R2	1.34
654	3c–d; h2, S1, R?	1.33
655	3c–d; h2, S2, R2	1.39
656	3c–d; h?, S1, R?	1.25
657	3c–d; uncertain letters	1.18
658	3d; h1, S1, R1; thin neck	1.37
659	3d; h2, S1?, R2/S2?; thick neck	1.42
660–661	3d; h2, S2, R2; thick neck	1.37, 1.29
662	3d; h2, S?, R?/S1?; thin neck; slightly clipped	1.09
663	3d; h?, S2, R1; thick neck; unbarred Ns on reverse	1.19
664	3d; h?, S2, R2; thick neck	1.41
665	3d; h?, S?, R2; thick neck	1.39
666	3d; h?, S?, R2?; thick neck	1.33
667	3d; h?, S?, R3; thick neck	1.42
668	3f; crescent marks (<i>SCBIN</i> 143); some corrosion on obverse	1.35
669	3f; wedge marks; damaged crown (<i>SCBIN</i> 146)	1.37
670	3g1; S2/S3; stops 3; nicked L on reverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 155)	1.35
671	3g1; S2/S1; stops 1	1.39
672–673	3g1; S2; stops 1?; slight edge damage to 672	1.38, 1.35
674–675	3g1; S2; stops 2	1.36, 1.35
676	3g1; S2; stops 2; hYR	1.15
677–678	3g1; S2; stops 3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 157)	1.38, 1.34
679	3g2; S3/S1; stops 1	1.40
680–681	3g2; S3/S1; nicked L on reverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 173)	1.39, 1.35
682–683	3g2; S3/S2; stops 1	1.43, 1.23
684–697	3g2; S3; stops 1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 175)	1.45, 1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.40, 1.38 1.34, 1.33, 1.30, 1.29, 1.22
698	3g2; S3; stops 4 (<i>SCBIN</i> 176)	1.35
699	3g2; S?/S3; stops 4	1.42
700	3g2?; S3; stops 1?; slight double-striking on obverse	1.36
701–703	3g3; S3; stops 4 (<i>SCBIN</i> 192)	1.40, 1.38, 1.26
704*	3g–4a transitional; incurved Ns, h2, R2; NO contractive marks; square initial cross; barred A; reverse has straight-sided lettering with serifs, and barred A	1.37

705–707	4a1; backward-tilting S on obverse only; some corrosion on 707	1.38, 1.36, 1.22
708	4a1; Ss not tilted	1.32
709	4a2; reverse lettering of 3g	1.36
710–713	4a3 (<i>SCBIN</i> 202)	1.39, 1.38, 1.38, 1.36
714	4a4; hair of 4b; barred/uncertain As; h2, R1	1.40
715	4a4; hair and drapery of 4b; barred As; h2, R?; oval face	1.43
716	4b; hair intact; slight corrosion on reverse	1.38
717	4b; hair intact; straight-sided lettering on reverse	1.17
718	4b; hair intact; straight-sided letters on both sides; some corrosion on obverse	1.33
719	4b; hair intact; drapery in one piece	1.40
720–727	4b; broken hair; slight corrosion on obverse of 726	1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.33, 1.32
728	4b; broken hair; straight-sided lettering on both sides; slightly chipped; slight surface corrosion	0.97
729–731	4b; broken hair; drapery in one piece; slight edge damage on 731	1.37, 1.35, 1.29
732	4b; broken hair; drapery in one piece; straight-sided letters on both sides	1.39
733–734	4b; broken jewel and hair; bust on 733 weakly struck	1.42, 1.38
735	4b; broken jewel and hair; drapery in one piece	1.41
736	4b; broken hair; late face and drapery	1.42
737	4b–c; much flattening on bust	1.38
738–741	4c; barred As (<i>SCBIN</i> 238–39); slight corrosion on obverse of 741	1.37, 1.35, 1.35, 1.29
742	4c; uncertain/barred A	1.42
743	4c; barred/uncertain A	1.34
744	4c; ?unbarred/unbarred A	1.45
745	4d/4c (<i>SCBIN</i> 245)	1.39
746–759	4d (<i>SCBIN</i> 247); 758 clipped	1.45, 1.41, 1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.37, 1.37 1.36, 1.35, 1.35, 1.35, 1.32, 1.19, 1.12
760	4d; barred/uncertain A	1.39
761–763	4d; pellet on obverse not visible, but flattening in this area	1.42, 1.40, 1.39
764	4d; as 761–763, but with barred As	1.31
765	4d; as 761–763, with much double-striking and some corrosion	1.29
766	4d; pellet on reverse not visible – possibly off flan	1.34
767	4d; pellet on reverse not visible, but flattening in this area; barred As	1.27
768	4d/4e (<i>SCBIN</i> 248)	1.38
769	4e/4d; early crown and hair (<i>SCBIN</i> 255)	1.34
770	4e; early crown and hair	1.38
771	4e; early hair (<i>SCBIN</i> 256)	1.42
772–781	4e (<i>SCBIN</i> 257); some corrosion on reverse of 778; 780 partially clipped; 781 badly chipped	1.40 1.38, 1.37, 1.34, 1.32, 1.32, 1.32, 1.31, 1.05, 0.89
782–783	5a (<i>SCBIN</i> 270)	1.38, 1.33
784	5b; almond eyes (<i>SCBIN</i> 275)	1.38
785	5b; almond eyes; pellet on breast not visible, but flattening in this area	1.35
786	6b; face 2	1.38
787	6b; face 2; waisted O	1.31
788*	7a; composite Ss; double-barred Ns; incurved letters (Greenhalgh, <i>BNJ</i> 59, class 7vi)	1.42
789*	7a; non-composite Ss; double-barred Ns; straight-sided/incurved letters (Greenhalgh, <i>BNJ</i> 59, class 7v)	1.36
790*	7a–7b transitional; crown of 7b; hair of 7a; non-composite Ss; double-barred/unbarred Ns; straight-sided letters (Greenhalgh, <i>BNJ</i> 59, class 7iii)	1.42
791*	7b; uncertain/non-composite S; double-barred/unbarred Ns (Greenhalgh, <i>BNJ</i> 59, class 7i)	1.44
792*	8a; face 1; no contractive marks	1.40
793	8a; face 1	1.30
794*	8a; intact central fleur in crown; face 2	1.44
795	8a; face 2	1.40
796–797	8b; face 1; straight-sided letters	1.36, 1.15
798	8b; as 796–797, but double-barred N in DNS	1.39
799	8b; face 1; incurved/straight letters	1.39
800	8b; face 1; incurved letters	1.44
801	8b; as 800, but double-barred N in DNS	1.39
802	8c; face 1?; straight-sided letters	1.42
803	8c; face 1?; straight/incurved letters	1.39
804*	8c; face 1?; mixed incurved and straight letters	1.25
805	8c; face 1?; incurved letters, but straight N in DNS; unbarred N in ANGL	1.29

806	8c; face 1?; incurved letters	1.34
807	8c; small face with rounded chin; incurved letters	1.39
808	9a1; incurved letters	1.30
809–810	9a1; incurved/straight letters	1.44, 1.36
811	9a1; as 809–810, but barred A on obverse	1.41
812–813	9a1; as 809–810, but barred A on reverse	1.39, 1.39
814	9a1; straight/incurved letters; partially clipped	0.91
815	9a1; straight letters; sinister jewel like pellet rather than spearhead	1.16
816	9a2; incurved letters; barred Ns on obverse; star; chipped	1.16
817	9a2; incurved letters; barred Ns on reverse, the second reversed; contractive marks	1.46
818	9a2; incurved/straight letters; barred Ns on both sides; star	1.37
819	9a2; straight/incurved letters; barred Ns on obverse; star	1.34
820	9a2; straight letters; barred A and Ns on obverse; star	1.35
821	9a2; straight letters; barred Ns on both sides	1.23
822	9a2; straight letters; star?	1.30
823	9b1; Roman/unbarred 1 Ns; contractive marks; star; D of DON double-punched	1.35
824–825	9b1; unbarred 1 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 370)	1.42, 1.39
826	9b1; unbarred 1/pot-hook Ns; star	1.33
827	9b1; unbarred 1/pot-hook Ns; star?	1.36
828–831	9b1; pot-hook/unbarred 1 Ns; star	1.42, 1.40, 1.38, 1.10
832	9b1; as 828–831, but die flaw like horizontal bar on N of LON	1.34
833	9b1; pot-hook/unbarred 1 Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 371)	1.38
834	9b1; as 833; ? no star	1.44
835–836	9b1; unbarred 1 or pot-hook Ns; no star; slight corrosion on obverse of 836	1.38, 1.23
837	9b1; unbarred 1 or pot-hook/pot-hook Ns; no star	1.42
838–849	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 372); 849 clipped	1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.37 1.36, 1.35, 1.34, 1.34, 1.19
850–852	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star?; 851 has large flan (20mm)	1.44, 1.39, 1.33
853–859	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 374); 859 slightly clipped	1.41, 1.41, 1.37, 1.36, 1.36, 1.31, 1.18
860	9b2; Roman Ns with pot-hook uprights/pot-hook Ns; contractive marks; no star; double-struck	1.32
861	9b2; unbarred 1 Ns; star	1.37
862	9b2; ? unbarred 1 Ns; star	1.44
863	9b2; unbarred 1/? pot-hook Ns; no star	1.33
864–865	9b2; pot-hook/unbarred 1 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 425); 865 partially clipped	1.46, 1.31
866	9b2; unbarred 1 or pot-hook/pot-hook Ns; no star; slight corrosion on obverse	1.42
867	9b2; pot-hook/? unbarred 1 Ns; star	1.38
868	9b2; pot-hook/unbarred 1 or pot-hook Ns; star?; much corrosion	1.38
869–876	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 429); 875 slightly clipped	1.42, 1.40, 1.40, 1.38, 1.36, 1.34, 1.34, 1.32
877	9b2; pot-hook Ns; star?	1.40
878	9b2; pot-hook/? pot-hook Ns; star	1.37
879	10ab1a; hYB'; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns (<i>SCBIN</i> 482)	1.39
880	10ab1b; reverse of 9a with straight-sided lettering (<i>SCBIN</i> 486)	1.39
881	10ab1b; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns	1.33
882	10ab1b; hYB'; reverse of 9b with unbarred Ns	1.43
883	10ab1b; hYB'; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns (<i>SCBIN</i> 488)	1.39
884	10ab2; ANGL' – hYB'; hair of 9b; reverse of 9a with straight-sided lettering (<i>SCBIN</i> 494)	1.31
885*	10ab2; ANGL' – hYB'; hair of 9b; drapery in continuous curve; reverse of 9b with unbarred Ns	1.43
886	10ab2; ANGL' – hYB'(?); hair of 9b; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns	1.38
887	10ab2; ANGL' – hYB'; new hair; reverse of 9b with unbarred 1 Ns	1.42
888	10ab2; ANGL' (?) – hY; new hair; reverse of 10ab1(?)	1.40
889*	10ab2; ANGL' – hYB'; new hair; apparently a true coin, with 10ab2 reverse – not recorded by North for London; A on reverse is <i>not</i> that of 10ab1; slight corrosion on obverse	1.39
890	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'; flat S; reverse of 9b with unbarred 2 Ns; slightly chipped	1.35
891	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'; flat S; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns	1.39
892	10ab3a; ANGL'; flat S; reverse as 891	1.27
893–894	10ab3a; hYB'; flat S; reverse as 891	1.40, 1.37
895	10ab3a; h'Y; flat S; reverse as 891	1.39
896	10ab3a; flat S; reverse as 891	1.38
897	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'(?); top-tilted S; reverse of 9b with unbarred 2 Ns	1.41
898–901	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'; top-tilted S; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns (<i>SCBIN</i> 515)	1.43, 1.41, 1.40.

		1.36
902	10ab3a; hYB'; top-tilted S; reverse as 898–901	1.40
903	10ab3a; hYB'; unbarred N in ANGL; top-tilted S; reverse as 898–901; chipped	1.42
904	10ab3a; ANGL' – hYB'; top-tilted S; ? reverse of 10ab3 with third S	1.41
905	10ab3a; top-tilted S; reverse of late 10ab5	1.38
906	10ab3b; ANGL' – hYB'; top-tilted S; reverse of 9b with unbarred 1 Ns (<i>SCBIN</i> 529)	1.36
907–908	10ab3b; ANGL' – hYB'; top-tilted S; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns	1.40, 1.20
909	10ab3b; as 907–908, but ? pot-hook Ns on reverse	1.44
910	10ab3b; ANGL' (?); top-tilted/uncertain S	1.42
911*	10ab3b; 'broken' S, apparently intact, on both sides	1.41
912–913	10ab4; hYB'; normal W	1.42, 1.12
914–915	10ab4; hYB'; overlapping W; 914 double-struck	1.40, 1.38
916	10ab4; hYB'; overlapping W; unbarred N in ANGL	1.30
917–918*	10ab5; hYB'; broken S (appears intact on reverse of 918)	1.42, 1.42
919–920	10ab5; broken S (<i>SCBIN</i> 544)	1.43, 1.31
921	10ab5; broken/? angular S	1.40
922–923	10ab5; broken/uncertain S	1.40, 1.39
924–927	10ab5; angular/broken S	1.43, 1.41, 1.33, 1.33
928–929	10ab5; angular S	1.45, 1.35
930	10ab5; ? angular S on both sides; very slightly chipped	1.31
931	10ab5; angular S; late A on obverse; R1	1.34
932	10ab5; angular S; late A on obverse; uncertain R	1.44
933	10ab5; angular/uncertain S; late A on obverse, ? and on reverse; R2	1.40
934	10cf1, early (1); EDWARRANGDNshYB; reverse of 9b with pot-hook Ns (<i>SCBIN</i> 564); slight surface corrosion	1.37
935–981	10cf1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 578 etc); surface corrosion on 954, 970, 973, 975 and 977; 980 and 981 clipped	1.48
	1.46, 1.45, 1.44, 1.44, 1.44, 1.44, 1.43, 1.43, 1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41	
	1.41, 1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.39, 1.38, 1.38, 1.38, 1.37, 1.37, 1.37, 1.36, 1.35, 1.35, 1.35	
	1.35, 1.34, 1.33, 1.33, 1.32, 1.31, 1.31, 1.29, 1.14, 1.02	
982	10cf1; large pellet-like flaw above sinister hair	1.46
983–984	10cf1; unbarred N in ANGL	1.37, 1.24
985	10cf1; unbarred Ns on obverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 583)	1.43
986–987	10cf1; unbarred Ns on reverse; 987 clipped	1.41, 1.15
988*	10cf1; hYB'; unbarred Ns on reverse	1.35
989*	10cf1; LON punched over other letters	1.41
990–994	10cf2a; A1, E1, h1, N1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 602); corrosion on 994	1.46, 1.42, 1.41, 1.38, 1.00
995	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1, N1	1.40
996	10cf2a; A1, E2, h1?, N1	1.43
997	10cf2a; A1, E?, h1, N1	1.37
998	10cf2a; A1, E2?, h1, N1?/A2, N2	1.34
999	10cf2a; A1, E?, h1?, N1/N2	1.38
1000	10cf2a; A2?, E1?, h1, N1; slight corrosion	1.34
1001	10cf2a; A2, E?, h1?, N1/N2	1.37
1002	10cf2a; A2, E?, h1, N1/A2, N2	1.33
1003–1007	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2	1.44, 1.40, 1.40, 1.38, 1.38
1008	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2, N2; hYB':	1.41
1009–1010	10cf2a; A2, E2, h2?, N2; 1010 slightly chipped, with slight corrosion	1.35, 1.30
1011	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h1?, N2	1.37
1012	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h1?, unbarred Ns/A1, N1	1.41
1013*	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h2, N2/N1; hY'B: or hY'B':	1.38
1014	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h2, N2	1.42
1015–1016	10cf2a; A2, E?, h2, N2	1.43, 1.30
1017	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h2, N2; hYB:	1.42
1018	10cf2a; A2, E?, h2?, N2/N1	1.39
1019	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h2?, N2	1.41
1020	10cf2a; A2, E?, h2, unbarred Ns/N1	1.48
1021–1025	10cf2a; A2, E2, h3, N2	1.41, 1.40, 1.37, 1.36, 1.36
1025a	10cf2a; A2, E2, h3, N2; hYB: (<i>SCBIN</i> 605)	1.34
1026–1028	10cf2a; A2, E2?, h3, N2; much corrosion on 1027	1.47, 1.38, 1.33
1029*	10cf2a; A2, E?, h3, N2; hY: B:	1.44
1030	10cf2a; A2, E?, h?, N2; some corrosion on obverse	1.42

1031	10cf2a; A2, E?, h?, N2; T of TAS over a C; some corrosion	1.22
1032	10cf2a; A2, E?, h?, N2; clipped	1.09
1033	10cf2a; A2?, E2, h3, N2	1.24
1034	10cf2a; A2?, E2, h?, N2	1.40
1035	10cf2a?; A2?, E2?, h1, N1/N2; dexter spearhead obliterated	1.42
1036	10cf2a?; A2, E?, h?, N1; dexter spearhead obliterated	1.37
1037	10cf2a?; A2, E2, h2, N2; dexter spearhead obliterated	1.22
1038	10cf2b; A2, D1, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.44
1039	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2	1.46
1040	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.37
1041	10cf2b; A2, D2, E2, h3, unbarred Ns/N2; flawed hair	1.16
1042–1043	10cf2b; A2, D?, E2, h3, N2; flawed hair	1.41, 1.35
1044	10cf2b; much corrosion	1.19
1045–1052	10cf3a1; face 1; 1052 slightly clipped	1.47, 1.43, 1.41, 1.41, 1.39, 1.37, 1.24, 1.13
1053	10cf3a1; face 1; nicked D on both sides	1.34
1054*	10cf3a1; face 1; hYB:	1.38
1055–1060	10cf3a1; face 2; slight corrosion on 1058 and 1059	1.46, 1.42, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.37
1061	10cf3a1; face 2; unbarred Ns on obverse	1.18
1062	10cf3a1; face 2; T of TAS over a C	1.39
1063	10cf3a1; face 2?	1.34
1064	10cf3a1; uncertain face type	1.35
1065–1067	10cf3a2 (SCBIN 653–55)	1.42, 1.42, 1.38
1068	10cf3a2; hYB' (?) (comma not visible, but space between B and cross)	1.41
1069–1077	10cf3a3 (SCBIN 660–662); 1077 chipped	1.45, 1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.41, 1.40, 1.39, 1.38, 1.29
1078–1079	10cf3a3; fish-tail As on obverse	1.38, 1.34
1080–1081	10cf3a3; EDWARRNGL (SCBIN 663 – from same obverse die)	1.41, 1.39
1082–1109	10cf3b1 (SCBIN 676–677); some corrosion on 1098, 1099, 1108 and 1109	1.46, 1.46, 1.44, 1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.40, 1.40, 1.40, 1.38, 1.38, 1.38, 1.38, 1.37, 1.37, 1.37, 1.37, 1.36, 1.34, 1.34, 1.33, 1.31, 1.29, 1.07
1110	10cf3b1 (? SCBIN 676–677); uneven striking	1.40
1111	10cf3b1; squat As with wide fish-tail cross-bars	1.38
1112	10cf3b1; W over an A (?)	1.39
1113*	10cf3b1; EDWARRA; second R over an A; second A with fish-tail cross-bar	1.37
1114	10cf3b1; T double-punched	1.43
1115	10cf3b1; T over an A	1.42
1116	10cf3b1; L of LON over a C (?)	1.39
1117*	10cf3b1; EDWARAANGL (SCBIN 679 – same obverse die); slight corrosion	1.42
1118–1119	10cf3b1; hYB' (SCBIN 680)	1.48, 1.39
1120	10cf3b1; hYB' (?)	1.43
1121–1124	10cf3b1; broken O	1.42, 1.40, 1.39, 1.35
1125	10cf3b1; slight damage to chin and O	1.37
1126	10cf3b1; A of ANGL double-punched; slight damage to chin; broken O	1.40
1127–1133	10cf3b1; broken chin; broken O	1.45, 1.41, 1.40, 1.38, 1.38, 1.35, 1.33
1134–1135	10cf3b1; broken chin; ? broken O	1.42, 1.42
1136	10cf3b2; broken O	1.42
1137	10cf3b2; broken O; T over a C	1.37
1138	10cf3b2; seriffed A and Ns on obverse; flawed hair punch; broken O	1.47
1139	10cf3b2; seriffed As on obverse; flawed hair punch; straight-sided Is and Ns and peak-backed C on reverse	1.41
1140	10cf3b2; sinister hair from 'Mayfield' punch; straight-sided Is; peak-backed C	1.37
1141	10cf3b2; sinister hair from 'Mayfield' punch; reverse has straight-sided Is and Ns, peak-backed C and A of wedges	1.33
1142	10cf5a1; reverse of 10cf3b2, with straight-sided Is, T and A with exaggerated serifs, and peak-backed C	1.40
1143	10cf5a1; reverse of 10cf3b2, with straight-sided Is and A of wedges	1.37
1144–1146	10cf5a1; slight corrosion on reverse of 1145	1.36, 1.32, 1.21
1147*	10cf5a1; hYB' very large Ns	1.37
1148	10cf5a2; incurved Is and unbarred Ns on reverse; ? also unbarred Ns on obverse; some corrosion	1.39
1149–1151	10cf5a2; incurved Is on reverse; flawed O as 10cf5b	1.39, 1.39, 1.36
1152*	10cf5a2; hB' (?); incurved Is on reverse	1.41
1153	10cf5a2; hYB'; incurved Is on reverse; dented and cracked in middle; some corrosion	1.41

1154–1155	10cf5b (<i>SCBIN</i> 739); slight corrosion on 1155	1.41, 1.35
1156*	10cf5b; realistic hooked dexter fleur in crown	1.34
1157*	10cf5b; hYB; realistic hooked dexter fleur and small points between fleurs of crown	1.39
1158	10cf5b; late As on obverse; reverse legend poorly struck	1.44
1159	10cf5b; S on obverse punched over another letter; late A on reverse	1.38
1160	10cf5b; late A on reverse	1.44
1161	10cf5b; ? late A on reverse; small flan; slight corrosion	1.16
1162	10cf5b; ? late A on both sides; some weak striking	1.41
1163	10cf5b; both sides double-struck	1.41
1164	10cf6 (<i>SCBIN</i> 764)	1.42
1165	10cf6; uncertain S on reverse	1.36
1166	11a1; unbroken crown; A1, R1	1.40
1167	11a1; unbroken crown; A1, A2, R1/A2	1.42
1168	11a1; only slight damage to jewel in crown; A1, R2; tilted S on obverse	1.40
1169*	11a1; only slight damage to jewel in crown; A2, R2; tilted S on obverse; A on reverse resembles that of 11a2, but appears barred; Ns of 11a1; slight corrosion	1.36
1170	11a1; A1, R1	1.38
1171	11a1; A1, R1/uncertain A	1.41
1172	11a1; lettering uncertain; much corrosion	1.38
1173	11a1/1a2; A1, R1, S?; some corrosion	1.32
1174	11a1/1a2; A2, R1, S?	1.25
1175	11a1/1a2; A2, R2; tilted S on obverse	1.42
1176–1183	11a2; small C; some corrosion on 1180, 1182 and 1183	1.43, 1.43, 1.42, 1.39, 1.34, 1.33, 1.31, 1.26
1184–1190	11a2; large angular C; slight corrosion on 1190	1.42, 1.42, 1.41, 1.40, 1.38, 1.34, 1.28
1191–1199	11b1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 807–808); some corrosion on 1196, 1197 and 1198	1.45, 1.44, 1.40, 1.39, 1.38, 1.38
		1.37, 1.36, 1.35
1200*	11b1/11b2; some corrosion	1.32
1201–1209	11b2; slight corrosion on 1209	1.44, 1.43, 1.42, 1.42, 1.40, 1.39, 1.39, 1.35, 1.29
1210*	11b2; double-barred N in DON	1.45
1211	11b2; apparently unbarred Ns on reverse	1.43
1212	11b2; hYB; (<i>SCBIN</i> 820); some corrosion	1.40
1213	11b2; EDWAR (<i>SCBIN</i> 821)	1.35
1214*	11b2/1b3; TAS/TAS/LON/DON	1.39
1215*	11b3; R3; EDWAR: unbarred N in ANGL	1.41
1216*	12b (<i>SCBIN</i> 873 – ? same obverse die)	1.36
1217–1219	13; R1; dexter hair punch broken at base; slight corrosion on 1219	1.45, 1.43, 1.38
1220–1221	13; R1; 1221 bent almost double	1.37, 1.35
1222	14; broken E; thin initial cross	1.38
1223	14; ? broken E	1.37
1224*	14; unbroken round-backed E	1.47
1225–1232	14; new E (<i>SCBIN</i> 899)	1.45, 1.45, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.37, 1.37, 1.33
1233	15a (<i>SCBIN</i> 919–920); edge filed all round	1.37
1234	15b (<i>SCBIN</i> 925)	1.35
	<i>Newcastle</i>	
1235	3e (<i>SCBIN</i> 128)	1.37
1236	3e; pellet-barred N on obverse; damaged hair (<i>SCBIN</i> 129)	1.38
1237–1238	9b1; Roman Ns; contractive marks; star; VIL' / NOV' (<i>SCBIN</i> 406)	1.41, 1.39
1239	9b1; pot-hook / ? unbarred 1 Ns; star; VILL'; slight corrosion	1.41
1240	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star; VILL' (<i>SCBIN</i> 410)	1.36
1241	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star; VILL' (<i>SCBIN</i> 411)	1.36
1242	9b2; pot-hook Ns; ? star; uneven striking	1.43
1243–1245	10x (9b1/10ab3); VILL' / NOVI (<i>SCBIN</i> 478–479)	1.42, 1.40, 1.36
1246*	10x (9b1/10ab3); VILL' / NOVI, with triangular wedge after NOVI; ? slightly clipped	1.33
1247	10x (9b1/10ab3); VIL[] / [] VI; uneven striking	1.41
1248	10ab2; ANGL' - hYB'; VILL' / NOVI; reverse of 10ab1 (<i>SCBIN</i> 504)	1.42
	<i>York (Royal)</i>	
1249–1251	2b (<i>SCBIN</i> 74)	1.40, 1.37, 1.32
1252*	3b; crescent marks	1.41
1253–1257	3b; crescent and comma marks (<i>SCBIN</i> 90)	1.38, 1.35, 1.34, 1.28, 1.26
1258–1259	3b; crescent and uncertain marks; 1258 struck unevenly, with obverse off-centre	1.43, 1.37
1260	3b; comma marks	1.22

1261	3c; h2, S1, R?/R1; face 2b	1.41
1262	3e; broken S on obverse (<i>SCBIN</i> 132)	1.34
1263	3e (<i>SCBIN</i> 134); slightly chipped	1.35
1264	3e; slight hair damage; slightly clipped	1.12
1265	3e; damaged hair	1.37
1266	3e?; uneven striking; obverse corroded	1.37
1267–1268	9b1; pot-hook/unbarred 2 Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 416)	1.46, 1.42
1269	9b1; pot-hook/? unbarred 2 Ns; no star	1.34
1270–1273	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 417)	1.45, 1.39, 1.39, 1.37
1274	9b1; pot-hook Ns; no star (<i>SCBIN</i> 418–419)	1.37
1275	9b1; pot-hook Ns; ?star <i>York (Archiepiscopal)</i>	1.43
1276*	3e; damaged hair	1.38
1277	9b1; pot-hook Ns; star (<i>SCBIN</i> 420)	1.35

IRELAND

Edward I pennies (Dolley classification)

Dublin

1278*	1	1.30
1279–1280	2; ·EÐW·R'·/ANGL'D/NS·hYB'; wedge-tailed R; obverse and reverse die-link; verdigris on reverse of 1279	1.38, 1.32
1281	2; legend as 1279–80; R of uncertain form	1.24
1282	3(A); ·EÐWR'·/AHGL'·NShYB'; R of uncertain form	1.40
1283–1288	6(b); 1288 chipped, with slight corrosion	1.48, 1.40, 1.39, 1.37, 1.35, 1.35
1289	6(b); unbarred N on reverse; slight corrosion on reverse	1.26
1290–1291	6(b), or possibly 9(c)	1.43, 1.33
1292–1295	6(d); 1295 has under-sized or clipped flan <i>Waterford</i>	1.42, 1.39, 1.36, 1.22
1296	2; ·EÐW·R'·/ANGL'D/NShYB'; CIVI/TAS/WATE/RFOR'	1.43

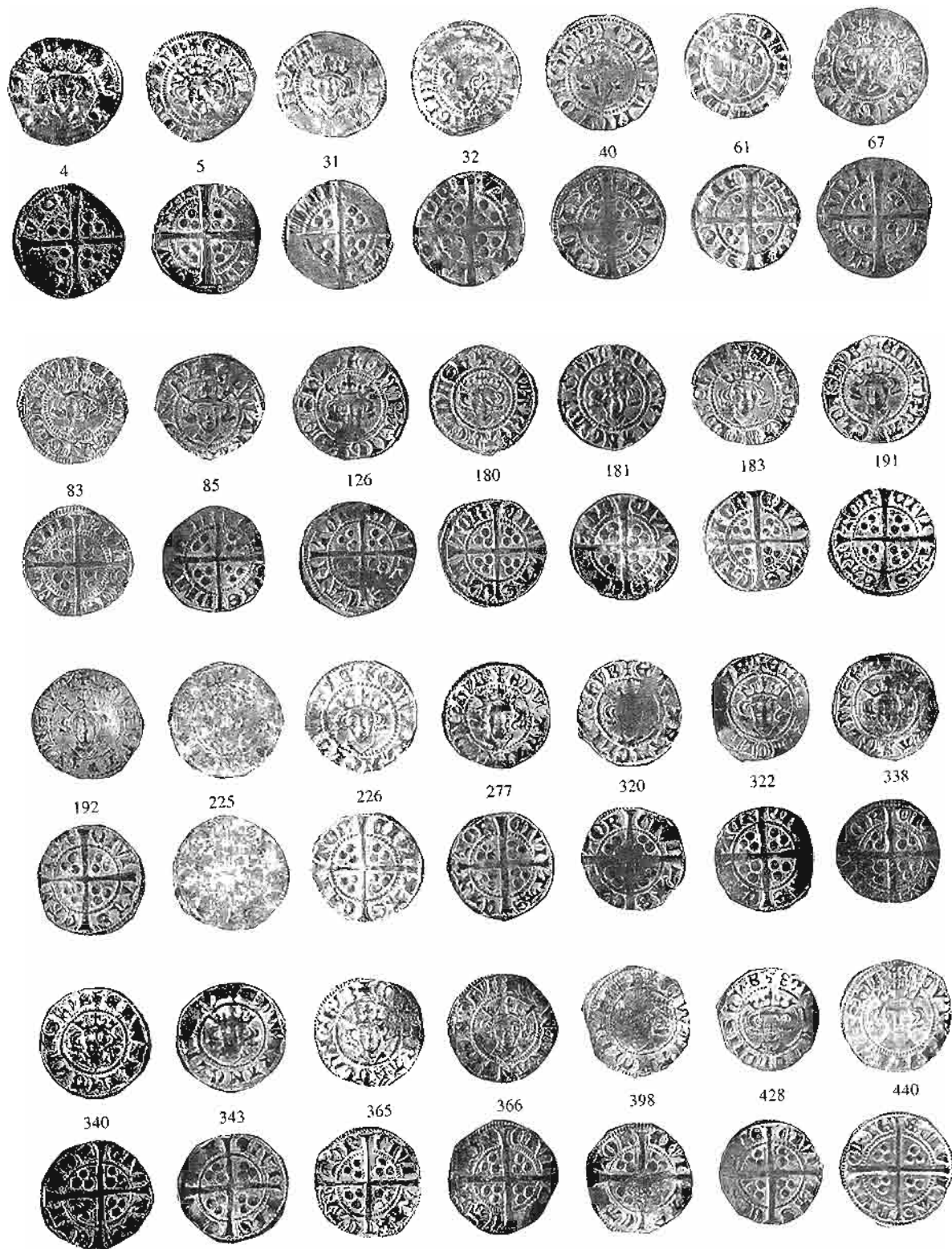
SCOTLAND

Alexander III pennies, 2nd coinage (Stewart and North classification)

1297*	A2; ALEXSADER·DEI:G'RA; barred As; REX/SCO/T:TO/RVM; no pellet after REX	1.35
1298	B2; GR'A; hair a; X1 on both sides	1.37
1299	B2; GR'A; hair c; narrow face; X2/X3; slight corrosion	1.33
1300	B2; GRA; hair c; wide face; SEO; X1 on both sides	1.31
1301	B/M; GR'A; hair d; X1	1.44
1302*	B/M; GRA; hair d; X1; first two As barred, last unbarred; bar of N erroneously placed between A and N	1.39
1303*	Ma/A2; cf Burns 26, fig 155; obverse without stops; reverse die as Richardson Add 105; slightly chipped	1.34
1304*	Ma; GRA:	1.27
1305	Mb1	1.42
1306	Mb1; V over a T	1.39
1307	Mb2/B2; X1 on reverse	1.41
1308*	Mb2/B2; reverse has plain cross. X1 and apparently unbarred M	1.39
1309–1317	Mb2, 24 points; 1217 chipped, with slight corrosion	1.42, 1.37, 1.36, 1.36, 1.35, 1.35, 1.33, 1.28
1318–1319	Mb2, 24 points; wedge-topped T on reverse	1.40, 1.38
1320	Mb2, 24 points; wedge-topped T; seriffed second R and M on reverse	1.47
1321	Mb2, 24 points; seriffed T, second R and M on reverse	1.40
1322*	Mb2, 24 points; no initial cross – GRA:AL, with lower pellet of colon larger than upper	1.35
1323*	Mb2, 24 points; REO/SEO	1.43
1324	Mb2?, 24 points; some weak striking; slight edge damage	1.31
1325	Mb2, 25 points; seriffed T, second R and M on reverse	1.32
1326–1328	Mb2/E, 24 points	1.45, 1.40, 1.37
1329–1330	Mb3/E, 24 points	1.42, 1.40
1331	Mb3/E, 26 points	1.43
1332	M(unc)/E, 24 points; seriffed letters on obverse; bust weakly struck	1.34
1333	Mb3/D, 24 points; corrosion and verdigris on obverse	1.40
1334	Mcl, 24 points; slight edge damage and surface corrosion	1.34

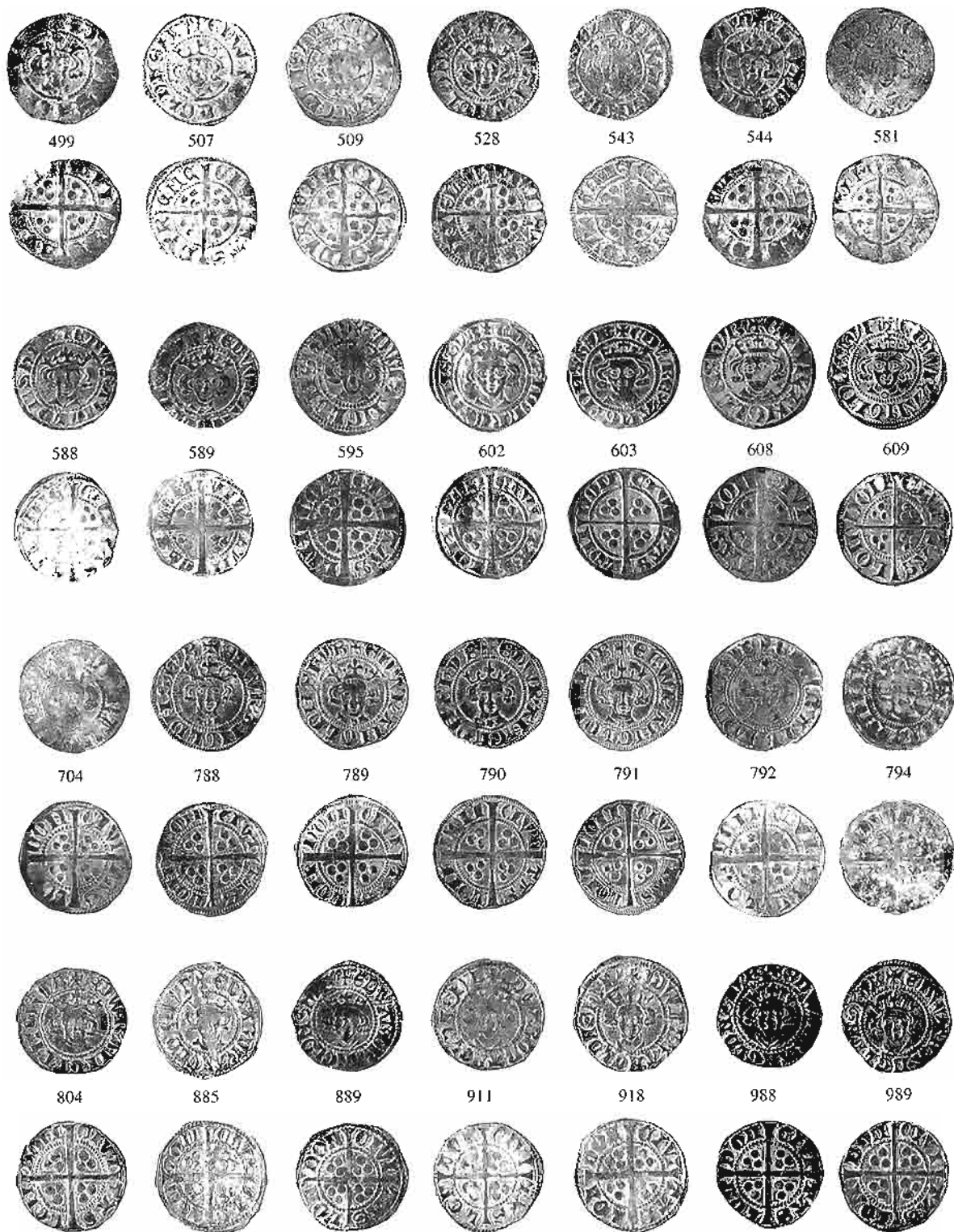
1335	Mc1/D, 26 points	1.42
1336-1338	Mc2, 24 points; reverse of 1336 from rusty die	1.45, 1.42, 1.33
1339	Mc2, 24 points; wedge-topped T	1.42
1340-1342	Mc2, 24 points; peaked C; 1342 chipped	1.39, 1.35, 1.30
1343	Mc2, 24 points; SEO; seriffed T, second R and M	1.39
1344	Mc2, 23 points; wedge-topped T	1.33
1345	Mc2, 23 points; wedge-topped T and peaked C	1.19
1346	Mc2, 23 points; partially clipped	1.19
1347	Mc2, 26 points; wedge-topped T	1.37
1348	Mc2?, 23 points; slightly peaked C; obverse weak and from rusty dies	1.34
1349-1357	Mc2/E, 24 points; 1357 chipped	1.46, 1.40, 1.38, 1.37, 1.34, 1.33, 1.32, 1.31, 1.30
1358	Mc2/E, 26 points	1.42
1359-1360	Mc2/D, 24 points	1.37, 1.32
1361-1362	Mc2/D, 25 points; both coins show some corrosion; 1362 badly chipped	1.34, 1.24
1363-1366	Mc2/D, 26 points; 1366 slightly chipped	1.46, 1.37, 1.36, 1.32
1367	E1/M, 24 points	1.36
1368	E1/M, 25 points	1.37
1369	E1/M, 26 points; clipped	1.17
1370	E1, 24 points	1.25
1371-1372	E1, 20 points; pellet stop between D and E in ALEXANDER; extra point in second quarter of reverse, two points in fourth	1.37, 1.34
1373	E1, 20 points; reverse as 1371-1372; clipped	1.10
1374	E1, 25 points	1.34
1375	E1, 26 points; slightly chipped	1.37
1376-1377*	E1, 28 points; 1376 very slightly chipped	1.34, 1.24
1378-1381	E1/D, 26 points; some corrosion on reverse of 1381	1.40, 1.40, 1.34, 1.22
1382	?E1/D, 26 points; obverse very weakly struck	1.42
1383	E1; reverse mis-struck with both obverse and reverse dies; reverse class and number of points uncertain	1.39
1384*	E2/M, 21 points; six points in REX quarter (not recorded by Stewart and North)	1.37
1385-1387	E2, 20 points; pellet stop between D and E in ALEXANDER; extra point in second quarter of reverse, two points in fourth	1.41, 1.39, 1.33
1388	E2, 20 points; as 1385-1387, but small wedge stop on obverse	1.36
1389*	E2, 22 points	1.40
1390*-1391	E2, 23 points; 1391 partially clipped	1.44, 1.16
1392	E2, 25 points	1.42
1393-1398	E2, 26 points; 1395 slightly chipped; 1398 slightly clipped	1.39, 1.35, 1.34, 1.29, 1.28, 1.21
1399-1400	E2/D, 26 points	1.43, 1.40
1401	E2/D, ? 26 points; double-struck	1.38
1402	D1/E, 24 points	1.32
1403	D2/E, 24 points	1.40
1404	D2/E, 26 points	1.40
1405	D2, 24 points	1.47
1406*	D2, 24 points; L resembles that of class R; unusual bust with pointed nose	1.37
1407	D2, 25 points	1.34
1408-1409	D2, 26 points	1.39, 1.39
	John Baliol pennies	
	First (rough) issue	
	? Berwick	
1410-1419		
(1411*)	Four six-pointed mullets on reverse	1.47, 1.45, 1.42, 1.41, 1.40, 1.40, 1.39, 1.38, 1.34, 1.30
1420	As 1410-1419, but three of the mullets double-punched	1.46
1421-1422	As 1410-1419, but mullet in third quarter malformed, with two extra points; 1422 clipped	1.37, 1.09
	<i>St Andrews</i>	
1423-1424*	Two mullets of five points and two of six	1.42, 1.40
	First/second issue mule	
	<i>St Andrews</i>	
1425*	Two mullets of five points and two of six (cf Burns 15, Fig. 218)	1.31
	Second (smooth) issue	
	? Berwick	
1426*	Two stars and two mullets of five points	1.26

Robert Bruce pennies		
1427*–1439	Unbarred A, as Burns 1; many die-links (see above, p. 38)	1.46, 1.44, 1.43, 1.42, 1.41, 1.41, 1.37 1.35, 1.34, 1.33, 1.31, 1.23, 1.18
1440	Unbarred A ?; reverse from same die as 1432 and 1439	1.36
1441*	Barred A; single pellet before ROBERTVS	1.46
1442–1445 (1444*)	Barred A, as Burns 2; 1442–1444 from same dies	1.45, 1.44, 1.42, 1.41
CONTINENTAL		
Sterlings (Mayhew 1983 classification)		
1446	Jean d'Avesnes, Mons (M 35, with pellet on breast)	1.24
1447	Arnold V of Looz, Hasselt (?) (M 62)	1.22
1448–1449	Guillaume de Hainaut, Bishop of Cambrai (M 88)	1.34, 0.95
1450	Renaud of Gelderland, Arnhem (M 182); undotted H on obverse	1.39
1451*	Renaud of Gelderland, Arnhem (M 184 var); dotted H on obverse	1.38
1452	Robert de Béthune, Alost (M 212)	1.38
1453	Robert de Béthune, Alost (M 219)	1.42
1454	Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves (M 239, with small face)	1.38
1455	Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves (M 239); unbarred M and Ns on reverse; V over another letter	1.12
1456	Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves (M 244, with obverse as f–m, but pellet not visible); Roman N on reverse	1.27
1457*	Henry of Luxemburg as Henry VII, King of the Romans, Méraude (M 256, but different dies) Sterling imitations of 'Edward' type	1.43
1458	EDWRE (M 374 a–i)	1.27
1459	EDWRE (M 374 j–m)	0.96
1460	EDWRE (M 374, uncertain portrait)	0.94
1461	EDWARRA (? Gaucher de Châtillon, Yves); LONDON reverse (M 377 a–d)	1.33
1462*	EDWR'R'ANGL'DNSHYB; comma stops; CIVI/TAS/LON/DOH	1.37
1463*	EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB; composite S; crescent stops; trifoliate crown; bust of M 384a; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON; composite S	1.40
1464*	EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB; crescent stops; large bust and lettering; trifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON	1.33
1465*	EDWRANGLDNSHYB; trifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON	1.48
1466*	EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB; comma stops; bifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON	1.36
1467*	EDWR'ANGL'DNSHYB; comma stops; bifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON	1.23
1468*	EDWRR[]NGLDNSR(?) hYBB; bifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON; cracked	1.33
1469*	EDWA(?) RANGLDNSHYB; wedge-tailed R; bifoliate crown; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON	1.43
1470*	Irish type obverse; EDW·R·ANGL·D·NSHYB; CIVI/TAS/LON/DON, with unbarred Ns	1.37
FRANCE		
1471*	Philip IV <i>gros tournois à l'O rond</i> (Duplessy 213 var or 213C); PHILIPPVS·REX·TVRONVS·CIVIS; slight corrosion	3.97

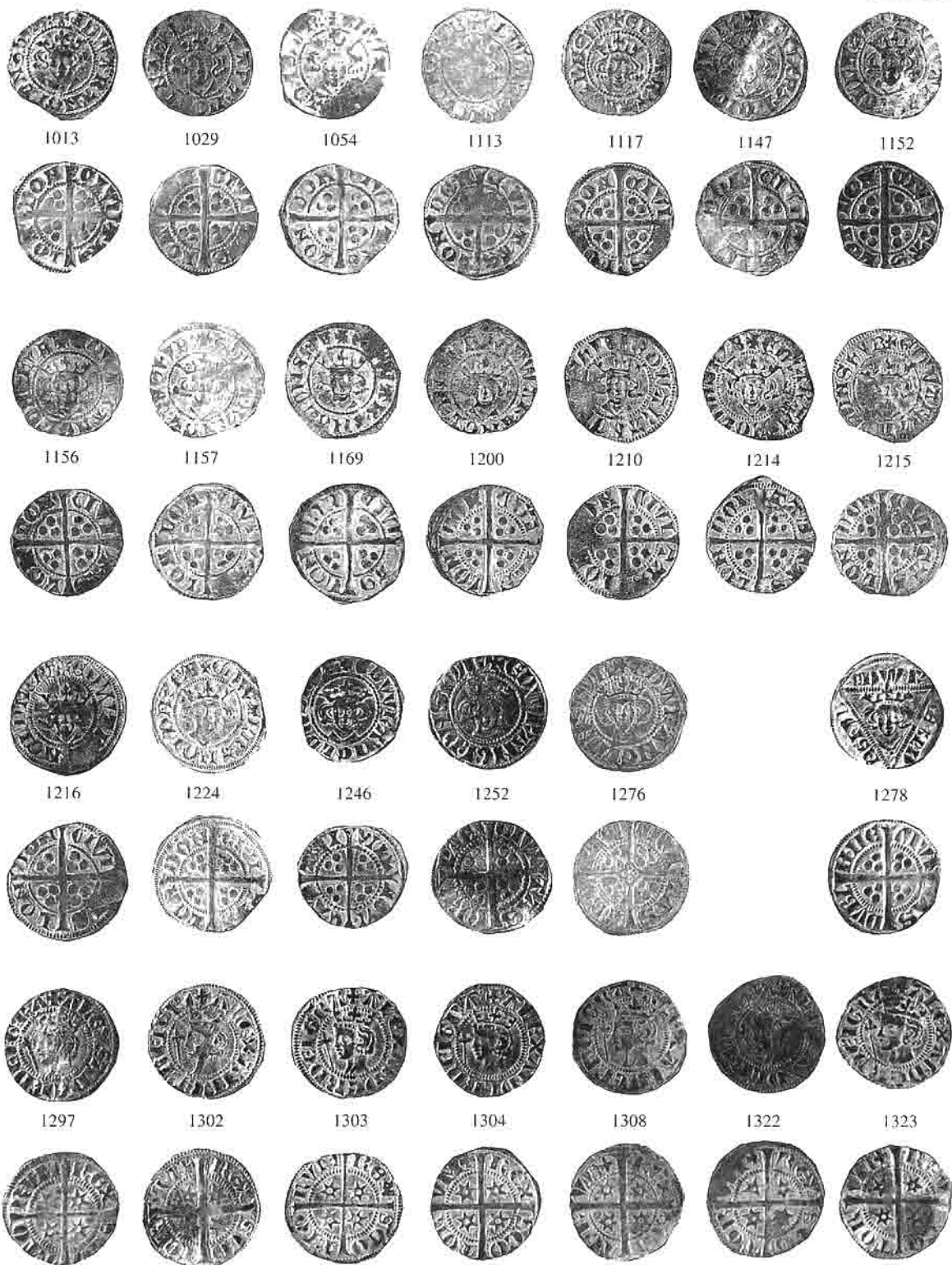


HOLMES: EDNAM HOARD (1)

PLATE 4



HOLMES: EDNAM HOARD (2)



HOLMES: EDNAM HOARD (3)

1377 1384 1389 1390 1406 1411 1424

1425 1426 1427 1441 1444 1451

1457 1462 1463 1464 1465 1466 1467

1468 1467 1470 1471

HOLMES: EDNAM HOARD (4)

THOMAS GRAHAM'S COPPER SURVEY OF 1857

G.P. DYER

ON 30 July 1857 the Master of the Mint gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Decimal Coinage.¹ Even those, like me, who are not enthusiastic admirers of Thomas Graham's Mastership would concede that it was a competent performance by a Master who had only been in office for two years. But with a Commission of just three members the circumstances were not as awe-inspiring as they sound, and a suspicion also exists that the questioning included rehearsed full tosses for despatch to the boundary.

Graham's evidence had been foreshadowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier in the year, when the somewhat leisurely progress of the Commission since its appointment in November 1855 had prompted a question in the House of Commons. In the course of his reply on 26 February² the Chancellor had indicated that the Commission would be calling upon the Master of the Mint to explain the time, labour and cost of providing any new coins which a decimal system would require; and this was, indeed, to be a major element of the discussion when Graham appeared before the three Commissioners on 30 July.

At the heart of what Graham had to say was a survey of the copper coinage which had been undertaken by the Royal Mint some six months before. It was a survey that bore directly on the work of the Commission since the more generally preferred decimal system of a pound of 1000 mils would almost certainly have required the replacement of the existing copper coinage. And, quite plainly, it would be useful for the Commission to have an idea of the quantity of copper coin in circulation so that it could be aware of the extent of the recoinage programme if the £-mil system were to be its ultimate recommendation.

But whether or not this was to be the recommendation of the Commission, the replacement of the copper coinage was something that had come to seem desirable for its own sake. Gladstone, as a youthful Master of the Mint, had contemplated reform in 1844;³ the French had successfully recast their low-value coins in the early 1850s; in July 1855, within two months or so of becoming Master, Graham had indicated his awareness of the case for change;⁴ and in December 1856 a contract with Heaton's for the supply of copper coin was not extended pending instructions from the Treasury as to a lighter coinage of bronze.⁵ That the existing copper coinage was heavy, cumbersome and inconvenient could not be denied. A penny of the 1850s, for instance, was not far short of a crown piece in diameter and three of them combined to weigh a massive two ounces; three halfpennies weighed an ounce; and even the humble farthing was nearly an inch in diameter and it took just six of them to make another ounce. In these circumstances it was no surprise, perhaps, that the private experiment of small bi-colour model pennies should have been a nine days' wonder in November 1847, to

Note. This paper, in its broad outline, formed the second part of my 1996 Presidential Address. It has, however, been slightly extended and I have taken the opportunity to give it footnotes.

¹ *Appendix to the Final Report of the Decimal Coinage Commissioners* (London, 1859), pp. 53–67. Hereafter referred to as *Appendix*.

² *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 144, cols 1388–9 (26 February 1857).

³ PRO, Mint 4/40 (December 1844). The correspondence between Gladstone and James Morrison, the Deputy Master,

was apparently prompted by the complaints of Sir George Chetwynd, the well-known collector of provincial tokens, about the deteriorating state of the copper coinage. It may well be that the inconvenient nature of the copper coinage placed an additional burden on the circulation of silver (PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 197–8 and 202–4).

⁴ PRO, Mint 1/42, p. 373 (Graham to Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 2 July 1855).

⁵ PRO, Mint 1/42, pp. 549–50 (Graham to Heaton's, 11 December 1856).

the extent that William Wyon had had to write to *The Times* to disclaim responsibility on behalf of the Royal Mint.⁶

The problem was greater, however, than size alone. Dating back as they did to 1797, the coins in circulation had been struck to four different weight standards: at 16d to the lb for the cartwheels of 1797, at 18d for the halfpennies and farthings of 1799, at 24d for the issues of 1806 and subsequent years, and finally 26d for the Irish coins, which had long enjoyed an unofficial circulation and which since 1826 had actually been legal tender throughout the United Kingdom. In principle, at least, the variations in standard had not created a problem since, with the passage of time, the different coins had become perfectly familiar and the public had quietly accepted the notion that copper was merely a token coinage, but it was plainly not ideal for coins of the same denomination to differ in size. As Gladstone was later to tell the House of Commons, if an old and a new penny were shown to persons unacquainted with them, no one would ever dream that they represented the same value.⁷ And the risk of confusion was exacerbated, if Graham is to be believed, by the effects of wear, which apparently made it difficult on occasion to tell a large halfpenny from a small penny.⁸

Moreover, the copper coinage had been contaminated by the practice of defacing coins with advertising slogans, an abuse that reached such proportions as to require urgent legislation in 1853.⁹ At intervals, too, anonymous letters reached the Mint complaining that copper was injurious to health;¹⁰ and the Chairman of the Decimal Coinage Commission spoke of the greasiness, the accumulation of dirt and the oxidation which made the use of copper coins 'exceedingly distasteful'.¹¹ To these Professor Jevons added his voice, writing in 1875 that pure copper 'soon becomes disfigured; it has a disagreeable odour which it communicates to the fingers; and when exposed to damp air it becomes covered with verdigris, which is both unsightly and poisonous'.¹² These obvious disadvantages of copper could be set against the fact that by the 1850s bronze was already known to be more convenient, more likely to promote cleanliness, more durable, and more difficult to counterfeit.

So, regardless of what decision might be reached on decimalisation, there was a persuasive case for tackling the copper coinage. And if there were to be reform, then clearly it would be helpful to know how much copper was in circulation, since this would provide the best guide to how much new coin might be required. It might also be helpful, given the worn state of the coinage, to form some idea of the average loss of weight, since this would then indicate the weight of copper that would be available from withdrawn coin to set against the metal needed for the new coins. By bringing these two aspects together – the quantity of new coins required and the weight of copper that would become available – both the production and the financial implications of a change from copper to bronze would be greatly clarified.

In essence this was what Graham's survey achieved, the collection and analysis of data no doubt second nature to the distinguished scientist who was now Master of the Mint. The survey had been in his mind since at least the autumn of 1856 when he had asked George Robertson, one of the temporary clerks recruited by the Mint to supervise the copper contract at Heaton's, to examine the state of the copper coinage in Birmingham. With the assistance of shopkeepers, and with the promised cooperation of Ralph Heaton Junior, Robertson was required to determine in his sample the value of pence, halfpence and farthings, separating the

⁶ *The Times*, 8 November 1847. There is further justification for the date November 1847 in PRO. Mint 8/4 and Mint 21/4 (Miscellaneous, Nos. 1826, 1827 and 1832).

⁷ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 155, col. 979 (4 August 1859).

⁸ *Appendix*, p. 54.

⁹ J. Gavin Scott, *British Countermarks on Copper and Bronze Coins* (London, 1975), pp. 6–10.

¹⁰ See, for example, PRO. Mint 21/1 (No. 4879, 6 June 1827, and No. 5128, 17 May 1828) and Mint 21/2 (Miscellaneous, No. 111, 26 May 1830, Miscellaneous, No. 177, 2 March 1831, and Miscellaneous, No. 207, 18 June 1831).

¹¹ *Appendix*, p. 55.

¹² W. Stanley Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* (London, 1875), p. 125.

pence and halfpence coined since 1853, and also to note the quantity of counterfeits. The results were promising enough for Graham in December 1856 to warn Robertson and his fellow clerk James Mallinson that following completion of Heaton's contract their employment would be extended by a few weeks to undertake similar statistical enquiries at different locations.¹³

Robertson and Mallinson returned to London on Christmas Eve, and Graham lost little time in seeking the assistance of London brewers in allowing Robertson to examine in detail the composition and weight of their holdings of copper coin, the brewers by the nature of their business being renowned accumulators of copper.¹⁴ Finally, in January 1857, Graham formally obtained approval from the Treasury to employ Robertson and Mallinson for a period of not more than two months. In justification Graham spoke first of throwing light on the unequal distribution of copper coin that resulted from issues being made only from the Mint in London. But, more convincingly, he went on to say that, in view of any future change to the copper currency, it would be desirable to have additional and more precise information on the condition, weight and value of the coins in circulation, determining the rate of wear and the proportion of defaced and spurious coin.¹⁵

In its final published form, the survey was simplicity itself. A quantity of £60 of copper coin was collected, apparently by Robertson, in each of the four cities of London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, the total of £240, though it sounds small, producing a sample of no less than 86,000 coins. Having been brought to the Mint, the coins were examined by Robertson and Mallinson and sorted by denomination and date into groups according to the four weight standards of 16, 18, 24 and 26d to the lb, with a subdivision that separated the coins of 1853–1856, readily distinguishable so it was claimed by their newness. The sample having been split up in this way, Darling, a retired sizer,¹⁶ weighed the coins in each group, thereby enabling a calculation to be made of the average loss of weight by wear (Table 1).

The results were unveiled by Graham in his evidence to the Royal Commission in July 1857 and subsequently published in an appendix to the Commission's Final Report.¹⁷ Though they were not without their shortcomings, the figures undoubtedly provided a valuable profile of the copper currency at that time. Broadly, they revealed a copper circulation made up of twice as many halfpennies as pennies, with a few farthings providing the balance. Predictably there were no cartwheel twopences, and that more recent innovation, the half-farthing, was also absent. This, too, was no surprise, for though it had created a bit of a stir when it was first issued in the United Kingdom in September 1844 the initial interest had quickly died away and it had rapidly resumed an almost exclusive existence as a colonial coin. Graham, indeed, could only recall one instance of its issue during the early years of his Mastership, when a mean-spirited publican had chosen it in preference to farthings as a free gift for his customers.¹⁸

¹³ PRO, Mint 1/42, pp. 514–5 (Graham to Robertson, 19 September 1856) and p. 549 (Graham to Robertson, 11 December 1856).

¹⁴ PRO, Mint 1/42, pp. 558–9 (Graham to Truman, Hanbury & Co, Combe, Delafield & Co and Whitbread & Co, 29 December 1856). Brewing has been described by Peter Mathias as, financially, one of the most 'liquid' of industries, with 'so high a proportion of sales being over the counter for cash, and returning to the brewer regularly and rapidly': *The Brewing Industry in England 1700–1830* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 320.

¹⁵ PRO, T1/6074B (file 13190/1857), Graham to Treasury, 12 January 1857, and Mint 1/42, p. 565 (Treasury to Graham,

19 January 1857).

¹⁶ The sizers checked the weights of blanks by hand but were being superseded by the introduction of automatic weighing machines. Darling's employment on the survey had been approved by the Treasury at the same time as that of Robertson and Mallinson.

¹⁷ *Appendix*, pp. 56–60.

¹⁸ *Appendix*, p. 62. Although half-farthings were made legal tender in the United Kingdom in 1842, issues did not begin until September 1844. For evidence of the initial interest see *The Times*, 21 September and 25 September 1844 and PRO, Mint 1/42, pp. 354–8 (Herschel to Gladstone, 5 January 1854).

TABLE 1. Summary of Survey

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>Loss of Weight %</i>
Penny	1797	8,120	9.43	9.4
	1806–1852	12,628	14.66	9.6
	1853–1856	4,215	4.89	0.7
	Irish	3,393	3.94	12.7
Halfpenny	1799	8,513	9.88	12.2
	1806–1852	31,942	37.09	11.3
	1853–1856	8,159	9.47	0.8
	Irish	7,204	8.36	14.3
Farthing	1799	23	0.03	6.1
	1806–1852	955	1.11	3.0
	1853–1856	941	1.09	0.7
	Irish	37	0.04	3.7

Source: *Appendix to the Final Report of the Decimal Coinage Commissioners* (London, 1859), p. 60, where the figures were reported in terms of face value. The total value of the sample was £239.18.10¹/₄d, of which counterfeits, tokens etc (not included in the above table) amounted to £3.9.4¹/₄d or 1.4% by value.

There was also the expected confirmation that the coins were old. Cartwheel pennies of 1797, for instance, made up a quarter of the pennies and nearly 9.5% by number of the total copper circulation, demonstrating that even after sixty years the ‘ring pence’ as they appear to have been called in the 1850s were still one of the workhorses of the copper currency. Add in the halfpennies of 1799, which formed almost 10% of the total, and the proportion of Boulton copper rises to about a fifth; and if only the Soho coins of 1805–1807 had not been aggregated in groups with later coins it would be even clearer that Boulton’s coins still featured large in the copper circulation almost fifty years after his death. True, there had been substantial mintings of new copper from 1821, amounting by the end of 1856 to more than £380,000, but something like 25% of this had gone directly overseas to Treasury Chests and to the Colonies, with Ceylon taking the lion’s share. Only in the 1850s had domestic issues risen to significant levels.

The bulk of the coins were therefore old and, being old, they were also worn, as is evident from the average loss of weight reported for each group. Cartwheel pennies had lost 9.4%; halfpennies of 1799 had lost 12.2% and later halfpennies 11.3%; but pride of place goes to the Irish halfpennies of 1805, which were 14.3% below their issued weight. On this scale wear is no small matter (Fig. 1). What it means is that the design is largely obliterated and that the coin may be difficult to recognise for what it is unless it has an unusual feature, like the broad rim of the cartwheels. Averages, of course, can be misleading but in Graham’s figures can be seen, vividly and beyond doubt, the evidence of a deterioration that, tolerated though it might have been by the public, nevertheless seemed to demand reform. The flat surfaces had encouraged abuse and a sixth of the coins were identified as injured and defaced, as distinct from the further sixth subsequently rejected by the Bank of England as worn out, allowing Graham to claim that a third of the copper was unfit for circulation.¹⁹

So far, the results revealed a situation that contemporary comments might have led us to expect, but there were surprises. Who, for instance, would have predicted that overall the

¹⁹ The subsequent garbling of the coin by the Bank of England is referred to in PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 41–50 (Graham to Gladstone, 19 July 1859). Lest there be surprise that such

dilapidated coins might pass freely, it is worth recalling the ease with which worn bun pennies circulated in the 1960s.



Fig. 1. Graham's survey suggests that coins as worn as these may have been typical of the copper in circulation in 1857.

proportion of counterfeits would be as low as 0.2% by value and even in Birmingham, a traditional home of the counterfeiter, still not as high as 0.5%? It is perhaps possible, given the worn nature of the coins, that not all counterfeits were recognised as such, yet it is worth remembering that the survey was undertaken not by resentful bank clerks anxious to be about their proper business but at the Mint itself by experienced officers who were being paid to perform the task. And it may also be indicative of the small extent to which the official copper coinage had been infiltrated that even tokens and foreign coins, which presumably were easier to recognise than counterfeits, formed no more than 1.3% by value.

Similarly, the proportion of Irish copper coins catches the eye, not however because it is so small but rather because it seems so large, standing overall at 12.3% by number of the sample. In Manchester and Glasgow the proportion was more than 14.5% but even in London, where it was smallest, it was still of the order of 9%. Clearly, in the major cities at least, the Irish harps were a substantial and well-integrated part of the copper circulation.

But what really seems to challenge belief is the under-representation of farthings. In fact they were all but absent from the survey, forming less than 2.5% of the total when, on the basis of mintage figures, the proportion should have been more like 20%. They had, after all, been minted regularly since 1821, and it can be taken as evidence of a continuing requirement that if the supply were interrupted for any length of time then private token farthings might appear, as in the early 1850s when the Mint was forced to neglect copper because of the urgent need to mint gold and silver. There can accordingly be no question that a demand for farthings existed, yet there is equally no doubt that this was not reflected in the survey and well might Graham find his statistics 'perplexing' and the history of the farthing 'singularly obscure'.²⁰

²⁰ *Appendix*, p. 61.

Even a Master of the Mint might be forgiven for struggling to understand a coin of which he, like many others, probably had no practical experience in his daily life. 'Thrust out of sight by habitual disuse, and almost out of knowledge', as his predecessor Sir John Herschel put it,²¹ the farthing enjoyed a curious and restricted existence, its less active circulation confirmed by an average loss of weight that was less than a third that of pennies and halfpennies. Graham believed that the farthing was used most freely in second-rate provision shops in low neighbourhoods, providing articles on a small scale to the poorest of people and acting in a sense as a substitute for a well-stocked cupboard. Pawnbrokers and tally shops also made use of the coin and for some people, though Graham found this hard to believe, it may have been a savings coin.²²

In the context of the survey it may be concluded that the coin failed to be located because the sample collector did not visit shops of low enough class. This reinforces more general concerns about the sampling technique adopted for the survey, restricted as it was to four major cities and seemingly unrepresentative of all parts of those cities. In particular, it may be wondered what effect the exclusion of rural areas may have had on the overall proportion of Irish coins, which would arguably have circulated less freely in the country than in cities with large Irish communities.

At the very least, therefore, the sampling is biased and the survey flawed to such an extent that doubts may be entertained about some of the conclusions that Graham allowed himself to draw from it. For instance, having reminded himself of the £800,000 or more of English and Irish copper produced at Soho,²³ he knew that the total output of copper coin since 1797 was about £1,200,000 and his estimate that up to £800,000 remained in circulation at home and abroad rested heavily on the proportion of coins of 1853–1856 found in the survey as compared with the number known to have been issued in that four-year period (Table 2). Yet recent experience shows that this is to rely on the least satisfactory part of the sample, for new coins take time to work their way into circulation and Graham's own figures showed newer coins to be noticeably more common in London than in the other three cities. And he should surely have recognised, as Gladstone did a year or two later,²⁴ that older coins lingered longer in rural areas, something that may help to explain why the old copper when it came to be withdrawn was if anything rather more worn than the survey suggested.

TABLE 2. English and Irish copper coins issued from 1797 to 30 June 1857

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Number issued</i>	<i>Number withdrawn and melted</i>	<i>Number presumed to survive</i>
Twopence	722,200	–	722,200
Penny	121,803,144	7,112,160	114,690,984
Halfpenny	276,778,817	14,224,320	262,554,497
Farthing	99,956,004	–	99,956,004
Half-farthing	16,438,176	–	16,438,176
Total	515,698,341	21,336,480	494,361,861

Source: *Appendix to the Final Report of the Decimal Coinage Commissioners* (London, 1859), p. 53. Graham's figures almost certainly require minor adjustment but are not far wide of the mark. The third column relates to the withdrawal of Irish pennies and halfpennies when the English and Irish currencies were assimilated in the 1820s.

²¹ *Questions communicated by Lord Overstone to the Decimal Coinage Commissioners, with Answers* (London, 1857), p. 96.

²² As well as in the *Appendix*, Graham's views on the circulation of the farthing may be found in PRO. Mint 8/36, pp. 82–9 (Graham to Gladstone, 16 November 1859).

²³ PRO. Mint 1/42, p. 594 reproduces an account by Edward Price of Soho, 6 March 1857, though detailed figures were in fact already available from a Parliamentary Return of 3 June 1819.

²⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 155, col. 979 (4 August 1859).

The modern way would be to sample more comprehensively and to calculate an annual wastage rate by comparing the coins found of each date with the number believed to have been struck with that date. For various reasons this would not have been easy for Graham and there is no evidence that he made the attempt. Though his figure of £800,000 reduced the estimate of £1,000,000 produced in 1844 by James Morrison, Deputy Master of the Mint, and adopted by Herschel in 1853,²⁵ as events were to show it nevertheless made insufficient allowance for losses of the older coins. In 1864, when copper had been flowing back to the Mint for the best part of three years, Graham was obliged to report to the Treasury that 'a result is now apparent, which although often observed in the calling in of an old coinage, may excite some surprise, namely, that a large portion of the old copper coin has been *lost* during the period of its circulation'.²⁶ Eventually the total withdrawn, from the Colonies as well as the United Kingdom, was to reach £580,000, still well short of Graham's £800,000. At that time, in 1877, Charles Fremantle, the Deputy Master, looked again at the 1857 survey and persuaded himself that the number of Boulton's coins suggested a likely quantity to be withdrawn of £580,000, an astonishingly convenient figure that raises doubts about Fremantle's statistical integrity.²⁷

Whatever the shortcomings of the survey, however, it seems right to acknowledge and applaud an initiative that sought to provide, in a more thorough form than ever before, a properly informed basis for a change to the currency. It is true that there had been previous surveys of opinion, as with the silver currency in 1811 and copper in 1824 and 1852, and investigations to establish loss of weight through wear, as with silver coins in 1787 and 1798 and copper in 1853. But these had been relatively small-scale affairs, whereas what Graham undertook in 1857 was a serious statistical exercise which took two months to complete, which cost money and which required Treasury approval.²⁸ And it served its immediate purpose by providing evidence that Gladstone used to good effect to justify the replacement of copper by bronze²⁹ and that Graham employed in framing his financial estimates for Gladstone and the Treasury and in determining the quantities to be minted of the new bronze coins.³⁰

In the longer term Graham's survey of 1857 may be claimed to have set the pattern for the future, since such surveys have become a regular feature of the planned development of the coinage.³¹ Graham's initiative has therefore taken root and those of us who have been happy to criticise him in the past ought, in this respect at least, to give him his due.

²⁵ PRO, Mint 4/40 (Morrison to Gladstone, 3 October 1844) contains the estimate of 5000 tons or £1,000,000 adopted by Herschel in 1853 (*Report from the Select Committee on Decimal Coinage* (London, 1853), p. 50). Though a more detailed memorandum sent by Morrison to Gladstone in December 1844 is not present in Mint 4/40, the basis of his estimate is however clear from a memorandum sent to an earlier Master, J. C. Herries, on 17 June 1829 and kindly made available to me by Mr Mark Rasmussen of Spink & Son.

²⁶ PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 339–46 (Graham to Treasury, 27 April 1864). Changing his story as he went along, he had already explained to the Treasury that he had thought of £850,000 as a maximum and £680,000 as a minimum and that

he now favoured the latter figure (Mint 8/36, pp. 315–20, Graham to Treasury, 24 February 1863).

²⁷ *Royal Mint, 8th Annual Report* (1877), pp. 9–10.

²⁸ PRO, Mint 6/5, fols 148–50 and Mint 6/58, fol. 86 record payments of nearly £100 to Robertson, Mallinson and Darling.

²⁹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 155, cols 978–81 (4 August 1859).

³⁰ PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 52–6 (Graham to Gladstone, 30 July 1859) and pp. 100–05 (Graham to Treasury, 29 March 1860).

³¹ See, for instance, R. G. de Glanville, *The numbers of coins in circulation in the United Kingdom* (London, 1970), and P. B. Kenny, 'The number of coins in circulation', *Economic Trends* No. 495 (January 1995), 23–31.

THE COINAGE OF 1893

MARK STOCKER

1. The need for a new coinage

THE origins of the coinage designs of 1893 essentially stemmed from dissatisfaction with the Jubilee coinage of 1887. The prime target of criticism had been Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm's effigy of Queen Victoria which showed her wearing what was widely regarded as an absurdly small crown, in danger of slipping off the back of her head (Pl. 7, 1).¹ The reverse designs were also unpopular because of their failure to specify values. Accordingly, there was widespread demand for a replacement coinage as soon as expediency permitted. In January 1888, scarcely six months after the Jubilee coinage had appeared, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen, submitted a pattern coin with a new design to Queen Victoria. This was accompanied by a memorandum from Charles Fremantle, Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, 'with a view to the production of a more satisfactory coin than was attained in the Jubilee issue'.² Before proceeding further, the Queen's approval was necessary. The absence of documentation suggests this was not forthcoming; memories of derisive cartoons in *Punch* and *Fun*, especially the latter's obverse inscription, 'Victoria Disgraceful', doubtless still rankled.³ In his next recorded letter on the subject in September 1889, Goschen stated 'As the general discussion on the Jubilee coinage had subsided, and the public appeared to have got used to the new coin, I thought that it might possibly be best to let the matter rest for a while.'⁴ Now he felt that it was time to readdress the question. Queen Victoria left him in no doubt about her attitude: 'The Queen dislikes the new coinage very much, and wishes the old one could still be used and the new one gradually disused, and then a new one struck.'⁵ In reply, Goschen conveyed the difficulty of reverting to the old coinage but promised action: 'I will confer with the Mint authorities whether if we cannot go back we should not go forward with the fresh design.'⁶

Goschen and the Mint chose to 'go forward' through the appointment in February 1891 of an advisory committee of experts representing financial, numismatic and artistic interests, known as the Committee on the Design of Coins.⁷ The membership of the Committee comprised the following: the chairman, Sir John Lubbock, Liberal MP, banker, archaeologist and naturalist; David Powell, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England; Richard Blaney Wade, Chairman of the National Provincial Bank; Sir Frederic Leighton, President of the Royal Academy; Sir John Evans, President of the Numismatic Society; and Fremantle, representing the Royal Mint. The secretary was George F. Glennie, Deputy Secretary of the Bank of England.

Documents in the Royal Archives are quoted by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. The author is very grateful to Graham Dyer for his advice and comments.

¹ G. P. Dyer and Mark Stocker, 'Edgar Boehm and the Jubilee Coinage', *BNJ* 54, (1984), 274–88.

² Royal Archives B39/76, Goschen to Queen Victoria, 8 January 1888.

³ *Punch*, 9 July 1887; *Fun*, 6 July 1887.

⁴ RA B41/102, Goschen to Sir Henry Ponsonby, 4 September 1889.

⁵ *The Letters of Queen Victoria, 3rd. series. A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the years 1886 and 1901. I, 1886–90*, edited by G. E. Buckle (London, 1930), p. 530.

⁶ RA B41/103–104, Goschen to Ponsonby, 12 September 1889.

⁷ Public Record Office, MINT 7/44, Fremantle to Sir John Lubbock, 5 February 1891.

Both the timing and the motive behind the appointment of the Committee were significant. It was established within six weeks of Boehm's sudden death in December 1890. His power over the Mint authorities as the Queen's favourite sculptor and his likely distress over a rapid replacement for his Jubilee effigy might well have delayed the launch of a new design. Now, without seeming indecorous, there was nothing to restrain the Committee. It could fulfil its aims both positively and negatively: the former by providing an artistically successful replacement for the Jubilee coinage and the latter by limiting the damage. No individual, Goschen, Fremantle or indeed the Queen, wanted to carry the blame for a repetition of 1887. The Committee would help prevent that possibility. What *The Times* described as 'a strong Commission' was now in charge.⁸ The welcome presence of Leighton and Evans on the Committee ensured that artistic standards would not be disregarded. Leighton, who was the most significant President of the Royal Academy since its founder, Sir Joshua Reynolds, was to prove himself especially valuable, both in his artistic opinions and as a 'go-between', carrying the respect of the prospective designers and the Committee alike.

The Committee's brief was 'to examine the designs on the various coins put into circulation in the year 1887, and the improvements in those designs since suggested, and to make such recommendations on the subject as might seem desirable, and to report what coins, if any, should have values expressed on them in words and figures'.⁹ The absence of any values inscribed on coins of a shilling and over caused greater public annoyance than Boehm's unpopular effigy. From the release of the Jubilee coinage onwards, demands were made in Parliament for the situation to be remedied. The Liberal MPs, R.K. Causton and W.P. Sinclair, were persistent in their lobbying; in August 1890 Sinclair presented Goschen with a Memorial demanding that all gold and silver coins should have their face value clearly marked.¹⁰ Another source of complaint was the double-florin or four-shilling piece, introduced in 1887. In attacking this coin, the *Daily Telegraph* played Portia: 'It blessed neither him who gave nor him who took. It was for all practical purposes a hypocritical substitute for the old crown.'¹¹ This was forcefully impressed on Goschen in March 1890 when his bland pronouncement in Parliament that 'there can hardly be said to be any similarity between the double florin and the crown' met with cries of 'Oh!'¹² The withdrawal of the double-florin was unanimously agreed by the Committee in its first meeting on 12 February 1891 and was announced in Parliament by Goschen on 25 May.¹³

The question of new designs, as distinct from inscriptions, was of less importance to Parliament. H.H. Fowler expressed concern that the Committee on the Design of Coins would give priority to artistic rather than functional considerations.¹⁴ Understandably, discussion of artistic designs occupied more of the Committee's time than did incorporation of values. Glennie's minute of the second meeting of the Committee on 27 February 1891 records the question of who would be invited to submit designs. Lubbock recommended an open competition; as a meritocratic Liberal he considered it 'invidious to exclude'. Leighton disagreed and carried the day when he argued that 'a number not exceeding eight should be asked to compete. If more asked good men would not compete'.¹⁵ Leighton had evidently absorbed the arguments of the article 'New Coins for Old', published in the 1887 *Magazine of Art*:

⁸ *The Times*, 31 January 1893.

⁹ PRO MINT 7/44, Clinton E. Dawkins to Fremantle, n.d. (c. 10 February 1891).

¹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd. series, 348, (6–18 August 1890), 8 August 1890, p. 256.

¹¹ *Daily Telegraph*, 31 January 1893. See G. P. Dyer, 'Gold, Silver and the Double Florin', *BNJ* 64, (1995), 114–25.

¹² *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd. series, 342, (5–26 March

1890), 14 March 1890, p. 874.

¹³ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd. series, 353, (4 May–8 June 1891), 25 May 1891, p. 969.

¹⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, 354, (9–30 June 1891), 11 June 1891, pp. 152–3.

¹⁵ PRO MINT 7/55, Glennie, Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins.

It has been suggested that a national memorial should have been put up to national competition. But competition in art has proved so persistently a failure, that one must be sanguine indeed to anticipate good results from it. It is doubtful, too, whether even in a thing of national importance the best men would compete. A plebiscite of sculptors might have answered, and they would possibly have been pretty much of one mind in this instance.¹⁶

The author was the designer and critic Lewis F. Day, one of the most intelligent but still underrated figures associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement.¹⁷ The influence of Day's article is indicated by Fremantle's production of a copy at the 12 February meeting. He subsequently offered it as an aid to participants in the coinage design competition.¹⁸

The list of prospective artists was headed by Alfred Gilbert, described as 'a friend of Boehm's – *persona grata* with the Queen'. Also listed were Edward Onslow Ford, Albert Bruce Joy, John H. Pinches, Edward John Poynter, Hamo Thornycroft and Allan Wyon. The names of Henry Armstead, C.B. Birch, Thomas Brock and Thomas Woolner were subsequently added, and those of Bruce Joy, Pinches and Wyon were deleted. The list now consisted exclusively of members and associate members of the Royal Academy. All were sculptors except for Poynter, who was a painter and medallist.¹⁹ Bruce Joy was dropped as he was not an Academician, but Pinches and Wyon probably suffered for different reasons. Fremantle implicitly condemned them when he was later quoted as believing that 'the art of engraving has died out'.²⁰ The most surprising omission from the final list is Alphonse Legros, who in prowess and output as a medallist certainly surpassed all others, Poynter included. There are two reasons for this; he was not an Academician and, although long settled in London, he was a Frenchman. Day had complained of Boehm that 'the favoured artist bears not even an English name'.²¹ However, it would be wrong to suspect the Committee of narrow academicism or chauvinism. In the 1890s, the movement known as the New Sculpture, which amounted to little short of an artistic revolution, was in its heyday. It was reflected in the work of the invited artists, especially Gilbert, Thornycroft, Ford and, to a lesser extent, Brock and Armstead. Day acknowledged this when he referred to 'the eminence of the artists chosen', their work displaying 'the spirit of modernity, to which our latest sculpture owes so much'.²²

At Fremantle's insistence, competitors were asked to design at least two portraits of Queen Victoria, both looking to the left. It was proposed that coins bearing one or the other of these heads would circulate together, with the florin bearing a different head from the half-crown, so as to be easily distinguishable. Reverse designs were required for denominations from the sovereign to the shilling. Indication of the value on the coin was left optional, with the exception again of the florin where it was to be expressed. This may appear surprising in view of public opinion. Fremantle, however, believed that if the differences in the designs of coins were pronounced, that would avoid the necessity of expressing their values.²³ Competitors were required to submit at least two models of their designs; the rest could be pen drawings. This was later described by Day as 'sheer perversity' when all entrants but Poynter were sculptors 'whose natural method of expressing themselves would be in clay or wax – which would also be the medium best representing the effect of actual coins'.²⁴ Day seems justified, especially as the quality of the submissions reveals that, Poynter and Armstead apart, the

¹⁶ *Magazine of Art*, (1887), 420.

¹⁷ For Day, see Gillian Naylor, *The Arts and Crafts Movement: a study of its sources, ideals and influence on design theory*, (London, 1971), pp. 120–1.

¹⁸ PRO MINT 7/47, Henry Hugh Armstead to Fremantle, 17 April 1891.

¹⁹ PRO MINT 7/55, Glennie, Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins. For Poynter, see Alison Inglis, 'The Medals of Edward Poynter', *The Medal*, (Winter 1985), 17–31.

²⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 31 January 1893.

²¹ *Magazine of Art*, (1887), 420. For Legros, see Philip Attwood, 'The Medals of Alphonse Legros', *The Medal* (September 1984), 7–23.

²² *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 279. See also Susan Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, (New Haven, 1983).

²³ Fremantle's dislike of values on coins was long-standing. See *Eighth Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint* 1877, (London, 1878), p. 27.

²⁴ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 275.

entrants were clearly happier to model than to draw. Entrants were offered a fee of £150, which the *Illustrated London News* considered 'totally inadequate remuneration for the time and labour and materials' involved.²⁵

Two artists declined to compete. Woolner asked Glennie who was judging the competition and when told, wrote a graceful refusal.²⁶ Gilbert did not reply to his invitation. When pressed he wrote 'as I never enter into a competition of any description I thought it would be unnecessary to trouble you with a letter to say so' but went on to express his regrets.²⁷ Leighton was 'much concerned' by Gilbert's decision, to the extent of writing to him to think again: 'He is *entre nous*, far and away the best man for the work, or would be if he could bend himself to it.'²⁸ Art historical opinion would endorse Leighton's view; Gilbert's was the outstanding talent of the New Sculpture. Queen Victoria is said to have considered his Golden Jubilee portrait for the Art Union 'the best likeness of her on a medal'.²⁹ Yet temperamentally, Gilbert was a romantic's romantic. Given the exigencies of working for a committee and meeting Mint deadlines, designs from Gilbert, if selected, would have led to disaster. Despite these refusals, Lubbock and Fremantle considered it unnecessary to invite others in their place.

At least two further artists applied to submit designs: the minor sculptor, Conrad Dressler and, more importantly, Allan Wyon, whose name had been deleted from the original list. As Engraver of the Royal Seals and the sole practising member of Britain's most distinguished dynasty of medallists, it was not surprising that Wyon should approach the Chancellor of the Exchequer:

The high merit of the great silver coinage of 1817 and that of the subsequent coinages brought out by the late William Wyon RA, and the consequently popular approval which they received, was no doubt owing to the fact of their having been designed and executed by artists who were technically acquainted with the preparation of medals and coins. It is as one thus qualified that I now venture to offer my services ...³⁰

Fremantle, whose regard for Wyon's abilities as a designer was not high, told Glennie that the application 'is what we might have expected'. Although Wyon was told that the artists requested to submit designs had been selected, 'note was made of his offer to engrave the dies which may eventually be required'.³¹ Wyon's solicitations proved self-destructive, however, when exception was taken to his 'getting batches of irresponsible MPs to write about him to the Chancellor of the Exchequer'.³²

With the deadline for the competition set for 31 October 1891, there were no committee meetings between March and November. The establishment of the committee and its membership were announced by Goschen in reply to a Parliamentary question from Causton in April.³³ In a subsequent answer to Causton in May, Goschen revealed that eight artists had been invited to compete but, in accordance with Fremantle's wishes, they were not identified. Fremantle believed that although at first sight it seemed the 'natural and proper thing' to go public –

²⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 4 March 1893.

²⁶ PRO MINT 7/46, Woolner to Glennie, 7 April 1891.

²⁷ PRO MINT 7/46, Gilbert to Glennie, 14 April 1891.

²⁸ PRO MINT 7/44, Leighton to Glennie, 17 April 1891.

²⁹ Mark Stocker, review of Richard Dormant, *Alfred Gilbert, The Medal*, (Winter 1985), 58.

³⁰ PRO MINT 7/44, Wyon to Goschen, 7 April 1891.

³¹ PRO MINT 7/44, Fremantle to Glennie, 8 April 1891. Fremantle had written several years earlier to Robert Hunt of the Sydney Mint: 'I am sorry to say there is, in my opinion, no really good English Engraver now living. Our Mint "Modeller

and Engraver", Mr. Leonard C. Wyon, for whom I have the highest regard & who is a man of taste and cultivation, is certainly the best.' This admiration did not extend to Allan Wyon. (Quoted in Dyer and Stocker, 'Edgar Boehm and the Jubilee Coinage', *BNJ* 54, (1984), 282, n.61).

³² PRO MINT 7/44, F. Parry to Fremantle, 18 April 1891 and Fremantle to Glennie, 18 April 1891. The only letter forwarded by an 'irresponsible' M. P. in the Mint file is by G. E. Hine to W. H. Smith, 10 April 1891.

³³ *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd. series, 352, (7 April–1 May 1891), 9 April 1891, pp. 123–4.

in these days of interviewing and general publication of the details of everybody's business, the Artists themselves might, if their names were not [*sic*] known, be importuned to give particulars as to their work & views on the subject & so placed in a disagreeable position. It is probable also that our selection would be criticised. Gilbert's abstention commented on, &c.³⁴

It was not until April 1892, on the eve of the Committee's report, that the participants' names were revealed by the newspaper that specialised in such 'exclusives', the *Pall Mall Gazette*.³⁵

In June 1891 further Parliamentary questions were asked about the inclusion of values on the coins, with Sinclair asking Goschen to reconsider the instructions to competitors. Although the Chancellor refused to be drawn, branch agents of the Bank of England were canvassed for their opinions on the matter. They displayed little enthusiasm for gold coins bearing their value but were virtually unanimous in believing that silver should do so.³⁶ Public involvement in the issue is indicated in the correspondence sent to the Committee by self-appointed monetary reformers and lateral thinkers such as John Coryton, Colonel B.W. Melville and A. Hardeman. According to its inventor, 'The Coryton system of Coinage' made its value 'recognisable at a glance or by a touch', this through 'making each coin of a special form' and by protecting gold coins by 'a band of phosphor bronze or other substance of great endurance'.³⁷ In October 1891 the Edinburgh medallist Alexander Kirkwood sent the committee unsolicited samples of his coinage designs in low relief in silver. Evans commented tersely that they 'speak for themselves'.³⁸

2. The Committee chooses

The first meeting of the Committee after entries had closed was held at the Bank of England on 27 November. The designs were placed on temporary screens in the Secretary's office. Glennie's summary states that a provisional selection was made at this meeting. Brock's two designs were selected for the obverses, one design for the florin and the other for remaining denominations. Benedetto Pistrucci's St George and the Dragon reverse was retained for the sovereign and crown and was introduced for the half-sovereign. For the half-crown reverse the Committee selected the design that Brock had originally intended for the florin. At this stage there was still no plan to mark the denomination on this coin. For the florin, Poynter's model was selected, marked 'with the VRs suppressed'; for the shilling Poynter's 'smaller' badge design; and for the sixpence, Brock's reverse design for the shilling.³⁹ Beyond this, there is a disappointing dearth of material to indicate what members of the Committee might have thought and why. Explanations for their decisions and details of any discussion in arriving at them were probably never put in writing. Goschen later stated that 'Fremantle told me that Leighton's influence predominated in the artistic part of the question. The Committee I know took immense trouble in selecting the designs'.⁴⁰ The latter point is amply confirmed in subsequent correspondence between the selected designers and the Committee. Most of the designs were discussed and illustrated in two near-identical articles by Day in the *Magazine of Art* of May 1896 and in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* of March 1898. These articles, together with the complete set of photographs among the Committee papers deposited in the Public

³⁴ PRO MINT 7/44, Fremantle to Glennie, 18 April 1891.

³⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 April 1892. The same account correctly stated that designs by Brock and Poynter had been chosen but inaccurately added 'Mr. Brock's "St. George and the Dragon" for a second reverse has also been accepted'.

³⁶ PRO MINT 7/44, typed transcripts from G. W. Moultrie, Frank A. Agnew, Geo Lempriere and others to the Bank of England, 15–17 June 1891.

³⁷ PRO MINT 7/44, Coryton to Fremantle, 11 June and 18 July 1891.

³⁸ PRO MINT 7/44, Evans to Fremantle, n.d. (October 1891).

³⁹ PRO MINT 7/55, Glennie, *Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins*.

⁴⁰ RA L16/51, Goschen to Ponsonby, 18 March 1892.

Record Office, make it possible to test Day's belief 'that a happier selection might have been made'.⁴¹

Of all the competitors, Henry Armstead showed most enthusiasm for his task and this is reflected in his designs. He alone took the trouble to obtain detailed information from Fremantle, telling him 'the study of coins and coinage is most fascinating'.⁴² He submitted eighteen different designs, six models and twelve drawings, far outnumbering those of his rivals who were content to employ identical designs for different denominations. Clearly he felt that 'the new coinage' should be just that; in short, he showed a readiness to take risks. Unfortunately for Armstead's sake, they did not pay off. While the Committee was willing to consider innovation, this was balanced by caution, convention and conservatism after the Jubilee coinage fiasco. Day was disappointed but hardly surprised by Armstead's rejection: 'Out of Mr Armstead's designs alone a series of coins might have been chosen which would have had at least a decorative merit lacking in our present coinage.'⁴³ In his obverse designs, Armstead's emphasis on artistic imagination rather than dutiful realism is evident. His design for the crown illustrates Day's point that he 'goes nearest to giving us a head designed as a medallion'.⁴⁴ The echoing motifs of the dolphins and the veil folds excellently illustrate what H.W. Janson admired in Armstead's relief sculpture: 'a remarkable rhythmic flow through the use of Neo-Baroque curvilinear shapes and a sense of drama' (Pl. 7, 6).⁴⁵ The design would have been too dramatic for public opinion accustomed to few changes in coinage design; and it would have been a gift to cartoonists who would have gleefully exploited the juxtaposition of the dolphins and the Queen's low-cut dress. The sovereign obverse is of equal originality; as Armstead stated, the Queen is shown 'not quite in profile', in a pose recalling the portrait medallions of David d'Angers (Pl. 7, 7). Day commented: 'He places the head too far forward in the coin; but in style and treatment – in design, in short – the most important of his contributions attains pre-eminently that dignity which becomes the subject.'⁴⁶ Armstead's reverses ranged from the ship, 'The Resolute', intended for the sovereign (Pl. 7, 8), to the more obscure 'Britannia directing the foundation of a colony' for the crown (Pl. 7, 9a–b). He also produced a variation on the theme of St George for the florin, showing the saint binding together a bundle of sticks, an allusion to 'the sustaining and strengthening character of England's government of her colonial empire' (Pl. 7, 10).⁴⁷ Day called this design 'at once significant, original and decorative'. However, he realised that the themes of Armstead's reverses were often in conflict with the popular purpose of a coin, where 'it is essential that the meaning of it ... should be obvious' and 'to suggest subtly is only to perplex'.⁴⁸

No such problems arose with the designs of C.B. Birch. Indeed, they seem plain to the point of being perfunctory. His obverses fail to recapture the physically frail and yet decisive Queen Victoria of his Blackfriars Bridge statue (1896). Especially unfortunate is the design of the Queen wearing a crown still tinier than Boehm's, surmounting what looks more like a doily than a veil (Pl. 7, 11a–b). However, Birch alone should not be singled out for retaining the small crown that had attracted so much criticism. Brock and, to a lesser extent, Poynter did the

⁴¹ 'The Coin of the Realm', *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 275–9; *N.Circ* (1898), 2619–25.

⁴² PRO MINT 7/47, Armstead to Fremantle, 17 April 1891.

⁴³ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 279.

⁴⁴ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), p. 275.

⁴⁵ *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, (London, 1985), pp. 165–6.

⁴⁶ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 275.

⁴⁷ MINT 7/47, Armstead's descriptive list of coinage designs, 31 October 1891. Further reverse designs by Armstead include 'Britannia directing her children to sow and reap in her colonies throughout the world', (crown model); 'St.

George victorious and prostrate dragon', (florin model); 'Science, Commerce and Art flourishing under the olive tree (Peace)', (half-crown drawing); "'Victorious Britannia'" suggested by [Thomas] Campbell's verse: 'Britain needs no bulwarks / No towers along the steep / Her march is o'er the mountain waves / Her home is on the deep', (half-crown drawing); Britannia freeing African slaves and subduing Anarchy', (half-crown drawing); and 'Britannia directing the circumnavigation of the world', (half-crown drawing).

⁴⁸ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 277.

same in their unadopted designs. No doubt the familiarity of the crown, which the Queen liked to wear, and which was encountered on authorised images from statues to photographs, made it difficult to dislodge. Birch's reverses show little imagination. His sovereign and half-sovereign are a gothic adaptation of Pistrucci's St George and the Dragon, with near-identical poses (**Pl. 7, 12a–b**). Although Day was not referring specifically to Birch's heraldic reverses for the half-crown and florin (**Pl. 7, 13**), his strictures on the subject are relevant:

Heraldry would have fared better in the hands of artists who had presumably not now for the first time turned their thoughts to it ... So little of this kind of work falls to the sculptor of the present day that when it does he is at a disadvantage. An art which is despised of the aristocracy of art sinks naturally into the hands of the plebeian craftsman. In the case of heraldry it has sunk indeed very low – practically, one may say, to the depths of trade; although it would not be impossible to find journeymen ... unknown even by name within the precincts of Burlington House, who know that trade better than to have turned out anything so unfeeling as the harder and more mechanical devices here shown.⁴⁹

Thomas Brock's designs strike a happy medium between those of Armstead and Birch – more simple, sober and sensible than the former and more refined and assured than the latter. There seems little doubt that they would have impressed the Committee as being both dignified and distinctive. It is significant that neither of the two obverse designs initially submitted by Brock were, in the event, adopted, although they were provisionally selected by the Committee at the 27 November meeting. One design portrays Queen Victoria wearing a crown not appreciably larger than that of Boehm's effigy, a veil, her widow's peak and a laurel wreath. Despite this apparent overcrowding, when Brock's model was reduced to the size of a crown piece, the effect was surprisingly successful. Frederick Parkes Weber called it 'perhaps the prettiest obverse design offered'.⁵⁰ Brock later used it for the obverse of the Imperial Institute Medal (1893), which belatedly commemorated the Golden Jubilee (**Pl. 8, 14**). His other design is similar but more simplified, the peak and wreath are eliminated and the Queen wears a broader-rimmed crown and a necklace (**Pl. 8, 15a–b**). This design, after minor changes, was submitted to Queen Victoria in March 1892. Brock's most ambitious reverse designs took the form of a seated Britannia for the sovereign (**Pl. 8, 16**) and a standing figure of St George for the crown (**Pl. 8, 17**). Neither was illustrated by Day but, unlike Armstead's designs, readers missed little; they were unexceptionable but represented no improvement on Pistrucci. For the half-crown, Brock initially submitted not the eventually adopted design but an ornate gothic quatrefoil pattern (**Pl. 8, 18**). A possible reason for its rejection was Leighton's belief that a gothic and a classical coinage should not circulate concurrently.⁵¹ Brock's florin reverse, bearing the ensigns armorial of the United Kingdom contained in a shield, was selected by the Committee for adoption as the half-crown reverse and was also later submitted in slightly modified form to the Queen (**Pl. 7, 2**).

Edward Onslow Ford, like Armstead, suffered for the originality of his designs. His two obverses come closer than any others to fulfilling the standard definition of the New Sculpture as a 'reverent observation of nature' (**Pl. 8, 19–20**).⁵² Although no entrant was given a sitting by the Queen, Day praised Ford for coming closest to conveying a study from the life and daring to make her look old. He implicitly compared Ford with Brock when he wrote: 'Give us the real Queen or the ideal; but never take the aged face and smooth out of it the lines of age, on which its character and dignity depend.'⁵³ According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the

⁴⁹ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 278.

⁵⁰ Frederick Parkes Weber, unpublished notes accompanying the British Museum specimen of this medal.

⁵¹ PRO MINT 7/55, Glennie, Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins.

⁵² The phrase was used by the critic Edmund Gosse, who

gave the New Sculpture its name. See Edmund Gosse, 'The New Sculpture', *Art Journal*, (1894), 138–42, 199–203, 277–82, 306–11, and also Mark Stocker, 'Edmund Gosse on Sculpture', *University of Leeds Review*, 28, (1985–6), 283–310.

⁵³ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 276.

Committee 'universally admired' Ford's half-sovereign reverse, which portrays an Elizabethan galleon (Pl. 8, 21). However, 'numismatists thought that the delicate detail would too soon wear down in use'.⁵⁴ His crown design was described by Day as a 'beautiful medallion' (Pl. 9, 22). Again, more than other designs, it shows Ford's commitment to the New Sculpture aesthetic. St George stands in elegant *contrapposto*, a realistic yet sensuous nude figure, evoking in miniature the qualities of Alfred Gilbert's statuettes, such as *Perseus Arming* (1882) and *Icarus* (1884). Accomplished, too, is the way St George's wings envelop the field of the coin. The Committee's satisfaction with Pistrucci's existing reverse probably explains the rejection of Ford's design.

As a painter, Edward Poynter faced problems different from those of his rivals. He complained to Fremantle: 'I am so hampered & handicapped by my inexperience in the technicalities of modelling that every kind of unforeseen difficulty has delayed my work. I have been nearly three weeks over one design which I might have drawn in so many days & I am not out of the wood yet.'⁵⁵ He was late for the deadline but was allowed to replace his sketches with finished drawings. Poynter's obverse designs for the half-crown and florin (Pl. 9, 23–24) were later regarded by Leonard Forrer as too reminiscent of the Jubilee effigy, an ironical charge since Poynter had been one of its most articulate critics.⁵⁶ While Poynter compressed the portrait by shortening the incongruously youthful neck, he nevertheless retained a disconcertingly small crown. His other obverse for the sovereign and half-sovereign uses a large, double-arched crown. Both portraits have in common the problem diagnosed by Day, that of artificially smoothing out the lines of age. The *pièce de résistance* of Poynter's reverse designs is his version of St George and the Dragon, intended for the sovereign, half-sovereign and crown (Pl. 9, 25). In 1887 Poynter had complimented the authorities for at least showing enough sense to retain Pistrucci's version. Now he attempted to beat Pistrucci at his own game. Although Pistrucci won, the result was far from humiliating for Poynter. The new design bears out Poynter's reputation for technical excellence of draftsmanship, unmatched even by Leighton. Poynter's other reverses take the form of armorial bearings and emblems. The shield of arms with supporters (Pl. 9, 26), not illustrated by Day, was intended as an alternative to the St George. Another shield of arms was offered for the half-sovereign and the shields of the three kingdoms was for the florin. The last design, after some modifications, was submitted to Queen Victoria and adopted in 1893. For the shilling, Poynter executed two similar designs showing the rose, shamrock and thistle emblems, one with a large rose, the other with a smaller one and having a longer, beribboned stem (Pl. 9, 27a–b). The former design was provisionally selected by the Committee and was later submitted to the Queen. These heraldic designs certainly withstand Day's criticisms better than most. Rather than being 'unfeeling' or 'hard', they aim at a greater decorative richness of effect than their Jubilee coinage precedents. They are also more legible; Day praised Poynter's lettering for its 'careful consideration' in being 'proportioned to the picture it encloses'. Of the Committee members, John Evans would also have approved the modification of the 'absurdly small' lettering of the Jubilee coinage.⁵⁷

The most disappointing entries were by Hamo Thornycroft. A more consistent artist than Gilbert, Thornycroft's contribution to the New Sculpture was arguably as great.⁵⁸ There is little to indicate this in his coinage designs, although extenuating circumstances may have

⁵⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 April 1892.

⁵⁵ PRO MINT 7/48, Poynter to Fremantle, 26 October 1891.

⁵⁶ L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, 4, (London, 1909), p. 679. For Poynter's criticisms of the Jubilee coinage, see Dyer and Stocker, 'Edgar Boehm and the Jubilee Coinage', *BNJ* 54, (1984), 281–2.

⁵⁷ PRO MINT 7/55, Glennie, Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins.

⁵⁸ For Thornycroft, see Elfrida Manning, *Marble & Bronze: The Art and Life of Hamo Thornycroft*, (London, 1982).

existed. Day added a footnote in his revised article for Spink's *Numismatic Circular* to say that 'Mr Thornycroft is not fairly represented by the rough sketches illustrating his designs', a point overlooked by the late H.W.A. Linecar in his more recent, scathing assessment.⁵⁹ Day also stated that 'Mr Thornycroft and Mr Ford both belong to that race of delicately sensitive artists who are never happiest, if ever happy, in competition'.⁶⁰ Thornycroft's heart was almost certainly not in his work. He had refused at least two invitations to make statues of Queen Victoria for the Golden Jubilee, partly because of pressure of other commissions. This remained an important factor in 1891, when his diary records that he was forced to concentrate most of his work on the coinage within a hectic 70-hour period between 27 October and the deadline four days later.⁶¹ A more telling explanation, however, is in his diary of 1887: 'our good monarch does not inspire me'.⁶² This lack of inspiration is apparent in the obverse drawings (Pl. 9, 28a–b). Although her crown is enlarged, the youthful-looking Queen bears much resemblance to Boehm's Jubilee effigy. Thornycroft's reverses are no happier; the half-crown shows, as Linecar put it, 'St. George killing some monster no larger than a snake surrounded by four shields' (Pl. 9, 29). The clash between the shield held by St George and that bearing the arms of England is particularly unhappy.

3. Modifying the designs

The provisional selection of designs having been made, it was decided at the next Committee meeting, on 23 December 1891, that Leighton would visit Brock to ask him to make changes to his designs with a view to their adoption. The 'small crown' design admired by Weber was now rejected, because the presence of both crown and wreath were objected to.⁶³ Instead, Brock was asked to prepare a fresh obverse 'somewhat after that of the Ashanti medal', an example of which Fremantle sent him. This design, by Leonard Charles Wyon, dating from 1874, showed Queen Victoria wearing a tiara and veil (Pl. 9, 30). A design 'somewhat after' the medal meant precisely that. The format was changed from a head to a bust; modification was made to the Queen's features to denote an older woman, although not to the extent that Day would have liked; the tiara was embellished with crosses and fleurs-de-lis; and the Queen was shown wearing pearl-drop earrings, the Koh-i-noor and the Garter Star. In short, the Ashanti Medal was fused with Brock's pre-existing design to create the 'Old Head (Pl. 9, 31)'. The other obverse design selected by the Committee, showing the Queen wearing the broad-rimmed crown, was to be left essentially unchanged. However, Brock was asked to bring the effigy more into the centre of the coin and to disconnect it from the border at the base of the design. Leighton also asked Brock on the Committee's behalf to adapt his florin reverse design to the half-crown, omitting the dolphin. The Committee's provisional selection of Brock's shilling reverse to be used for the sixpence was now marked 'in abeyance'.⁶⁴ At their meeting, Leighton explained fully to Brock the views of the Committee and secured the latter's willingness to act on its suggestions. While no firm decision was confirmed to Brock, doubtless his selection was intimated to the satisfaction of both men. Leighton's association with Brock was friendly and long-standing, Brock having assisted him with the New Sculpture masterpiece, *An Athlete Wrestling with a Python* (1874–77).⁶⁵

⁵⁹ *NCire* (1898), 2621, n. 1; H.W.A. Linecar, *British Coins and Designers*, (London, 1977), p. 120.

⁶⁰ *Magazine of Art*, (1896), 279.

⁶¹ Leeds City Art Gallery, Thornycroft Archive, J6, f.89. Diary entry, 31 October 1891.

⁶² Quoted in Elisabeth Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait*

Statuary, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, (1983), p. 385.

⁶³ Weber, unpublished notes, as in n.50.

⁶⁴ PRO MINT 7/55, Gleannie, Minutes of the Committee on the Design of Coins.

⁶⁵ *Frederic Leighton 1830–1896*, Royal Academy exhibition catalogue, (London, 1996), pp. 85–6, 182.

Within a few weeks Brock had completed and submitted the new effigy design. Following the meeting on 10 February, Leighton informed a 'delighted' Brock that the Committee had selected his two effigies and his half-crown reverse.⁶⁶ Leighton also contacted Poynter to convey the Committee's views on his reverse designs. There is less documentation than for Brock, but a letter from Glennie indicates that Poynter had made an altered cast for the florin design, with the rose, shamrock and thistle replacing the 'VR' initials. Poynter was also requested to make a slight but unspecified alteration to his shilling reverse. He provided this by the time of the final formal Committee meeting on 11 March. Both reverses were then approved.

The Committee encountered a new problem over the inscription. The original requirement was for each obverse to be inscribed 'Victoria Dei Gratia Regina Britanniae Fidei Defensor', abbreviated if necessary. However, in February 1892, the Cabinet considered the question of inserting 'Indiae Imperatrix' in addition, in recognition of the Queen's well-known devotion to her role and title as Empress of India. The Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, told her:

Your Majesty's Servants are of opinion that the title of Empress of India, indicating, as it does, Your Majesty's relation to far the larger portion of Your subjects, ought to appear on the coin, in the shape of the letters 'Ind Imp' or 'I.I.' or some such abbreviation.⁶⁷

The Imperial Titles Act of 1876 restricted instruments exclusively operating in the United Kingdom to the ancient title. However, as the coinage would circulate within the Empire, the Cabinet advised that the abbreviations of the title 'Empress of India' were included in the new coinage designs regardless of any anti-imperialist objections. The Committee was unable to complete its report until the position was resolved. When the Chancellor directed the insertion of the title, Brock hurriedly made the necessary change on the crowned obverse model in time for the Queen to see it before her departure for the continent. The report was printed on 12 March and on the same day Goschen wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Queen's private secretary, stressing the immense pains taken by the Committee and expressing the sincere hope that the coins suggested would please her.⁶⁸

They did not. She 'strongly objected' to Brock's crowned obverse, disliking both the way that the crown was put on and 'the arrangement of the head-dress'. Far more to her liking was the 'Old Head', to which she lent her approval, although she found the nose too pointed. She asked why the Committee required a different head for the florin: 'No-one will distinguish the florin from the Half Crown by the head. The distinction must depend on the size and on the design on the reverse'. She went on to criticise the reverses more harshly:

Is it likely that the Coat-of-Arms smothered in vegetables on the Half Crown would be preferred to the very pretty coat of arms on the Half Crown last adopted? The nosegay of Mr. Poynter's design for the reverse is like a Beef-Eater's breast-plate, whereas the present Coat of Arms for the Shilling is very pretty.⁶⁹

Brock was asked to execute a fresh design for the half-crown reverse and Poynter for the shilling.⁷⁰ The 'Old Head' obverse, with the necessary modifications, could proceed and Poynter's florin reverse was left unscathed. The absence of any further correspondence from Brock until June indicated that he was happy to make the necessary changes. Poynter reacted differently. Proud professionalism and a streak of the prima donna commingle:

⁶⁶ PRO MINT 7/48, Brock to Fremantle, 13 February 1892.

⁶⁷ RA A68/107, Salisbury to Queen Victoria, 12 February 1892.

⁶⁸ RA L16/50, Goschen to Ponsonby, 12 March 1892.

⁶⁹ PRO MINT 7/54, Fremantle, 'Observations on the new Designs for the Coinage, Windsor Castle', 18 March 1892.

⁷⁰ PRO MINT 7/54, Glennie, summary of informal meeting of the Committee on the Design of Coins, 24 March 1892.

... I should have touched on a rather important question with reference to making another design for the shilling and that is the question of payment for it; on which point you said nothing. But the fact is that to make a new design, especially of the rather elaborate character of the 'four shields' & model it, is not a matter of two or three days' work, but will take a serious amount of time, and I do not think I ought to be expected to do it for nothing. I was willing, as I suppose we all were, to make the series required for the competition on the terms proposed, in the hope of the honour & glory of success in a national concern, but it naturally was not a paying one; & to do more than this seems to me not 'in the bond'.⁷¹

Poynter was disappointed by the Queen's reaction to his shilling reverse and believed that had she seen it as a relief and not as a drawing she would have responded differently: 'I feel strongly tempted to make a relief of it with some alteration to satisfy her criticism in the hope that she may approve.' Poynter favoured a fresh reverse of three shields. He claimed 'The public will know nothing of the shilling having been accepted by the Committee and rejected by the Queen, and will simply accuse me of a poverty-stricken want of invention in copying an old pattern'.⁷¹

Fremantle discussed Poynter's demand with Lubbock and Glennie. All agreed that the Committee was not justified in recommending extra payment to any one competitor. Brock, who was in an identical position, had made no such claim. A modification of the shilling reverse would still be required. 'I will be sorry if you give it up', wrote Fremantle.⁷² Poynter immediately yielded and produced four new heraldic designs within two weeks. However, he still regretted the Queen's reaction to his earlier design:

I understand that I am supposed to have copied it from the beefeaters' badge. If I had known that the beefeaters wear such a badge I shd. certainly have gone out of my way to do something different but I was quite unaware of it. It is impossible to be strikingly original in so worked-out a matter as the reverse of a coin, but I shd. certainly never knowingly copy any design.⁷³

All four of Poynter's new designs combined the English, Scottish and Irish shields. Having ruled out 'the 17th century design of the four shields in the form of a cross', Poynter decided on a new treatment, 'in conformity with the already accepted design for the florin'.⁷³ In the adopted design, the rose, thistle and shamrock emblems were inserted between the three shields and surrounded by the Garter. At the same time Brock revised his half-crown reverse, the Queen's comments having necessitated a fresh design. He retained the main motif of the ensigns armorial contained in the shield, but simplified the ornamentation to remove any suggestion of smothering vegetables by replacing the rose, thistle and shamrock with the collar of the Garter. The crown was enlarged and a miniature St George and the Dragon resembling Pistrucci's was inserted at the base. Revisions were also made to the inscription. In its draft Report of 11 March, the Committee proposed the inclusion of the value on all coins from the florin to the threepence. This was now extended to the half-crown. Goschen announced the decision to the House of Commons on 23 May and, doubtless to his relief, no protests were made about the failure of the Committee to recommend putting the denomination on gold coins or the crown.⁷⁴

With the publication of its report on 17 May, the work of the Committee was over; initiative now passed to the Mint. Surviving correspondence indicates that while progress on translating the relief models to punches, matrices and dies inevitably posed problems, a sound working relationship was established between the Mint and both artists. Brock's letters to Fremantle and to Edward Rigg, chief clerk of the Mint, record the progress of his designs between June 1892 and January 1893. Their terse and workmanlike content contrasts with Poynter's more gossipy and fretful correspondence.

⁷¹ PRO 7/52, Poynter to Fremantle, 6 April 1892.

⁷² PRO 7/52, Fremantle to Poynter, 26 April 1892.

⁷³ PRO 7/52, Poynter to Glennie, 9 May 1892.

⁷⁴ *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th. series, 4, (3–26 May 1892), 23 May 1892, p. 1523.

In July Brock's model of the half-crown reverse was almost complete and ready for electrotyping by Robert Ready of the British Museum. Brock then gave the effigy renewed attention, producing in September 'a new head of the Queen much larger than the one submitted to the coinage committee'. He delayed doing much to it until he had received the experimental coin Fremantle was 'engaged upon from the model selected' and which would be struck as a guide for modelling the larger version.⁷⁵ Also in September, Brock received duplicate casts of obverse designs from Ready and began alterations at once. Brock's letter of 3 October contains the first reference to the principal engraver of the coinage, George William De Saulles, whom he described as 'the die engraver I had in view. It is satisfactory to know he has been recommended by Pinches'.⁷⁶ By mid-October Brock had received an obverse electrotpe from Ready, and asked Rigg whether the punches for the legend were made. The half-crown obverse punch was ready by early November, with Brock asking Rigg for a die to be made from it. On 6 December Brock requested an experimental die for the crown obverse: 'the master die is ready for lettering and I wish to have the experimental one as a guide'. Problems existed with the sovereign die which De Saulles told Brock was 'useless as it will not face'.⁷⁷ On 13 December Brock informed Rigg that he had discovered a flaw in the steel of the half-crown reverse: 'if it stands the process of hardening, would you kindly have a punch made from it as quickly as possible'.⁷⁸ In the same letter Brock mentioned receiving impressions of the crown piece from Pinches. Brock saw Pinches the following week and told him to remove the 'REG:' characters from the experimental crown die and to repunch them a little nearer the centre of the bust, a more satisfactory option than altering the line of the portrait. Letters for the crown master die were now being inserted. On 20 December Brock sent Rigg impressions by Pinches of the half-crown obverse. His letter to Fremantle of 11 January 1893 indicates that progress was behind schedule: 'I fully understand your position and will do my utmost to expedite matters'.⁷⁹ Brock telegraphed De Saulles for immediate assistance. Dies for both obverse and reverse of the half-crown were now on the eve of completion and the sovereign was ready to be taken in hand. Several weeks previously, Brock had instructed Pinches to make letter punches for the sovereign to avoid delay. By 21 January, the subject of correspondence moved to Brock's fees, indicating that his side of the work was effectively over. Brock reminded Fremantle of the alterations to the two original obverses and the modelling of the third, adopted design; of alterations in the lettering 'involving much work in plaster before the casts were sent to Windsor'; of remodelling the head in lower relief for reductions; and of modifications in the half-crown reverse, culminating in 'an entirely new design and model'.⁸⁰ Brock was granted his request for £200, which, together with Poynter's request for £160 for his side of the work was described by Fremantle as 'very moderate'.⁸¹

There was less correspondence on the progress of Poynter's designs. This is not surprising since Brock scrutinised all obverse, as well as the half-crown reverse, dies whereas Poynter's role was limited to his two reverses. In June and July 1892 Poynter worked on his models for electrotyping. In October Fremantle wrote to him hoping to have steel reductions ready for Poynter's approval. Little further was said until 2 February 1893, when Fremantle was anxious to have approval of the final florin and shilling reverse dies, which De Saulles had engraved. The following day, Poynter told Fremantle that the florin was 'much improved'. However, he found the circle of dots around the garter 'too heavy – the dots are too big and consequently

⁷⁵ PRO MINT 7/48, Brock to Fremantle, 2 September 1892.

⁷⁶ PRO MINT 7/48, Brock to Rigg, 3 October 1892. Brock was working in conjunction with Pinches at about this time on the Imperial Institute Golden Jubilee Medal; the reverse design was by the latter.

⁷⁷ PRO MINT 7/48, 6 December 1892.

⁷⁸ PRO MINT 7/48, 13 December 1892.

⁷⁹ PRO MINT 7/48, Brock to Fremantle, 11 January 1893.

⁸⁰ PRO MINT 7/48, 21 January 1893.

⁸¹ PRO T1/8723B. 1893-3322, Fremantle to R. E. Welby, 24 February 1893.

too crowded together & also in too high relief'. The lion in the Scottish shield 'seems to have lost some of his ruggedness; he wants more hair on his legs and paws'.⁸² On 21 February Poynter examined the shilling die. The Scottish lion was 'rather clumsy – shd. be thinner in the flanks'. Clumsy too was 'the female on the harp ... make her altogether more slender & the head smaller. She wants fining down considerably. See the harp on Simon's Charles II coins'.⁸³ The same problem applied to the florin. He was still unhappy about the circle of dots on both coins and wanted small alterations made to the shamrock and rose, and the removal of the latter's stalk. By 2 March the harps were better and Poynter was pleased that the circle of dots on the shilling was 'much improved by having the single large dot in the inscription instead of the confusing pattern I had first put'. However, there were many further details that needed rectifying, which Poynter listed on postcards:

They are small matters: but everything depends on delicacy of detail ... I think the Roses on each coin are the least satisfactory part. The stalk must be added again to the Florin. Perhaps two small leaves might be added if it can be done without crowding.⁸⁴

Poynter's postcard notes ask for a more sharply defined fleur-de-lis on the Scottish shield of the shilling. The thistle needed to be more ovular; and the rose needed better definition in its centre and to be made smaller, more in keeping with Poynter's model 'in which the proportion to the rest is I think better'. The globes and crosses at the top of the crown needed better definition; the end of the garter buckle was placed crooked, 'too much to the left'; and the 'NI' characters of 'HONI' were not quite equal in height. More serious corrections were necessary for the florin rose which was also 'wanting in definition' in its modelling –

Work shd. be much cleaner. It is not satisfactory as it is. It would be better really to put it higher up, nearly touching the base of the Crown, and to make it slightly smaller; there would then be room to add a small leaf on each side. Stalk shd. be mere thread with thorns, sharp & fine.⁸⁴

On 3 March Fremantle told Poynter that he would send an impression of the shilling, altered as suggested. Alterations to the florin were much more serious and would take some ten days to complete, as they involved starting afresh from the original reduction. He hoped they would prove satisfactory, as the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Harcourt, was 'not unnaturally getting very impatient to get all the new coins out'.⁸⁵ Poynter apologised for the delay but believed that there was no alternative to making the alteration.⁸⁶ By 13 March, both the shilling and florin appeared to Poynter –

quite right (always excepting the uneven ground in the shilling, which must be due to the electrotpe being uneven) for my model has quite a flat ground. So, I suppose, they may now be considered ready for issuing for public use. The new Rose in the Florin is an immense improvement.⁸⁷

Much of Poynter's surviving correspondence from June 1892 to early 1893 deals with newspaper reporting of the coinage. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had leaked the identity of the successful designers as early as 20 April 1892, nearly a month prior to the Committee report. In September, Poynter asked Fremantle:

Would it not be better to send to some one of the newspapers a paragraph stating exactly what had been done with regard to the new coinage? Wrong statements are constantly appearing. In the last which I saw ... it was said that the designs for the new coinage had been entrusted to Mr. Brock. An authoritative paragraph would set it right once and for all.⁸⁸

⁸² PRO MINT 7/52, Poynter to Fremantle, 3 February 1893.

⁸³ PRO MINT 7/52, 21 February 1893.

⁸⁴ PRO MINT 7/52, 2 March 1893.

⁸⁵ PRO MINT 7/52, Fremantle to Poynter, 3 March 1893.

⁸⁶ PRO MINT 7/52, Poynter to Fremantle, 5 March 1893.

⁸⁷ PRO MINT 7/52, 13 March 1893.

⁸⁸ PRO MINT 7/52, 7 September 1892.

Fremantle, however, insisted on confidentiality and patience. He resisted calls from artists or the press to publish or exhibit any designs, claiming 'If one were published, it would certainly be necessary to publish the rest, and I need not tell you what a Babel of different opinions this will give rise. As regards the accepted designs, the public will see them in due course'.⁸⁹ Goschen took a similar line in Parliament, refusing to exhibit the approved designs or to disclose the date of issue. He neatly read the mood of the 'silent majority', stating in May 1892: 'To put the designs before the House would probably lead to criticisms being expressed by a few, the great majority of those in favour of the designs not expressing any opinion at all.'⁹⁰ Harcourt maintained this policy when he succeeded Goschen as Chancellor.

4. An 'entirely acceptable' coinage?

As with its 'exclusive' disclosure of the names of the competitors, the *Pall Mall Gazette* was first to report on 30 December 1892 'we have reason to believe that the new coinage will be put into circulation early in the coming year'.⁹¹ At the time Fremantle was making careful arrangements for supplying the press with information. He had learnt from the mistake of 1887 when the Jubilee coinage 'burst' on a public that proved far less enraptured than he anticipated. He had no illusions about the responsibility of the press and pursued a policy of confidentiality, as explained to Poynter. It was so effective that Onslow Ford wrote as late as December 1892, asking for results of the competition. Only when the work was in its final stages and only when a trusted opinion such as that of David Powell of the Bank of England assured Fremantle that 'the head should be a great success', could he afford to relax.⁹² Following the Royal Proclamation of 30 January announcing the issue of the new coinage, Fremantle laid his coins on the table for the press to inspect (Pl. 9, 31–34).

The ploy was brilliantly successful. Monday 30 January 1893 was, according to the *Globe*, 'a gay day at the Mint'.⁹³ Reactions were as favourable towards the new coinage as they had been hostile in 1887. In some cases they were little short of ecstatic; the *Christian World* sang in adoration: 'Apelles would have approved it'.⁹⁴ The *Standard* averred: 'Nothing of such excellence has been produced since the work of Simon, in the time of Charles II'.⁹⁵ Agreement that the coinage was an immense improvement on its predecessor was unanimous. Fremantle seemed positively garrulous, enthusing in an interview with the *Illustrated London News* about Brock's effigy, which he considered 'infinitely artistic ... almost the popular portrait of the Queen'. At a stroke it abolished 'that ridiculously ill-balanced crown which caused the old coin to rise up in a point and to look so very ugly'.⁹⁶

Brock's effigy monopolised attention. Many accounts rightly saw it as a careful attempt to learn from earlier mistakes. The critic M.H. Spielmann wrote: 'Not only have better artists than Sir Edgar Boehm employed their talents ... but they have profited by the misfortune of their predecessor. They have seen what more obvious faults were to be avoided.'⁹⁷ *The Times* praised Brock for avoiding the 'elementary blunder' of elongation on a coin:

He has got rid of the crown and of the unduly long neck, with a result that cannot but be regarded as a great

⁸⁹ PRO MINT 7/52, Fremantle to Poynter, 12 October 1892.

⁹⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th. series, 4, (3–26 May 1892), 23 May 1892, p. 1523.

⁹¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 December 1892.

⁹² PRO MINT 7/44, Poynter to Glennie, 18 April 1891.

⁹³ PRO MINT 7/51, Ford to Fremantle, 7 December 1892;

PRO MINT 7/44, Powell to Fremantle, 15 November 1892 and 5 January 1893.

⁹⁴ *Globe*, 31 December 1893.

⁹⁵ *Christian World*, 2 February 1893.

⁹⁶ *Standard*, 31 January 1893.

⁹⁷ Max Pemberton, 'Some New Coins at the Mint: A Chat with Sir Charles Fremantle, C.B.', *Illustrated London News*, 4 February 1893. The same article was reprinted in *NCirc*, (1893), 115–6.

⁹⁸ M. H. S. (M. H. Spielmann), 'The Artistic Aspect of the New Coinage', *Westminster Budget*, 2 February 1893.

improvement ... The likeness is good, and, as was to be expected from so scholarly a sculptor as Mr. Brock, the modelling is excellent.⁹⁹

Applauded too was the replacement of the small crown with the tiara, 'the hinder part of which is concealed by a graceful drapery which falls, not backward as in the Jubilee coins, but sideways towards the spectator'. The ample bosom was seen by Spielmann as 'emphasising, perhaps, her Majesty's years'. Other accounts praised the effigy for portraying the Queen as 'mother of her people', and for embodying 'English homeliness', 'matronly features' and a 'genial expression'. Spielmann summed up the consensus: 'Mr. Brock's work, in short, is entirely acceptable as a work of art.'¹⁰⁰

The 'Ind: Imp' inscription on the obverse did not provoke as much discussion as anticipated.¹⁰¹ It was probably a reflection more of the popularity of Queen Victoria than of imperialism that this was so. The Radical weekly, *Truth*, was virtually alone in considering the inscription a violation of Disraeli's pledge in 1876 that the imperial title would not be used within the limits of the United Kingdom: 'The violation is all the more flagrant, as India has a coinage of her own, and has no more to do with our coinage than China'.¹⁰² Rather more common was the jingoistic tone of the *St. James's Gazette* which believed that the inscription would 'commend itself to most people as a very proper development of "Imperialism"'.¹⁰³

Brock's and Poynter's reverse designs inevitably received less attention. Enthusiasm for them was relatively muted, with Brock's half-crown (Pl. 9, 32) emerging more successfully than Poynter's florin and shilling (Pl. 9, 33–34). The *Daily News* commented of the half-crown: 'The large, free treatment of the collar of the Garter ... is sure to be admired. In the Jubilee half-crown the collar and the garter, placed in concentric circles, were, to use a colloquialism, too crowded.'¹⁰⁴ Brock's design was elsewhere described as 'simple, clear and bold' and 'bold, striking and perfectly appropriate'. Spielmann considered the half-crown –

perhaps a trifle more formal and conventional than the reverses that have gone before in recent years; but the balance is true and just, the spade shield of fine proportion and the collar of the Garter simply treated, combined with admirable decorative effect.¹⁰⁵

Queen Victoria's insistence that Brock thinned out his 'vegetables' was clearly vindicated.

Any praise for Poynter's reverses tended to be bland, with references to the 'fine device of three shields' and 'a very pretty and artistic design'. These platitudes were, however, balanced by criticism such as that of the *Daily Graphic*:

it will appear to many that Mr. Poynter's designs, intended as they are for the smaller coins, are a little too crowded and indistinct. They are attractive, but on the shilling it is not quite certain that the right design is in the right place.¹⁰⁶

The *St. James's Gazette* commented that the 'treatment of the royal arms is not altogether agreeable, since the shields appear to be running away from one another; but all the same, the design is passable'.¹⁰⁷ Surprisingly, there was no immediate criticism of the excessive size of the inscription on the shilling either in relation to the cramped design or to the obverse inscription. The clear indication of value counted for more; as Fremantle told the *Illustrated London News*: 'It is an effective coin – perhaps the most effective of the silver'.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ *The Times*, 31 January 1893.

¹⁰⁰ *Westminster Budget*, 2 February 1893.

¹⁰¹ Spielmann, *Westminster Budget*, wrongly predicted 'that this addition will give rise to considerable discussion can hardly be doubted'.

¹⁰² *Truth*, 9 March 1893.

¹⁰³ *St. James's Gazette*, 31 January 1893.

¹⁰⁴ *Daily News*, 31 January 1893.

¹⁰⁵ *Westminster Budget*, 2 February 1893.

¹⁰⁶ *Daily Graphic*, 31 January 1893.

¹⁰⁷ *St. James's Gazette*, 31 January 1893.

¹⁰⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 4 February 1893.

Although Brock and Poynter monopolised critical praise, De Saulles emerged from many accounts as the unsung hero of the designs. Spielmann, for example, said 'On the whole, it must be pronounced that the engraver employed by Sir Charles Fremantle has been highly successful'.¹⁰⁹ De Saulles was living proof that Fremantle was unduly pessimistic in claiming that 'the art of engraving has died out ... Pistrucci and Wyon have had no successors in England ... The difficulty is to put the design in steel without destroying the artistic effect'.¹¹⁰ The illustrated weekly *Black and White* believed that Fremantle's thoughts were rather more grey: 'Sir Charles Fremantle is cherishing, as yet somewhat timorously, the hope that a worthy successor to these great lights has, perhaps, arisen. Time will show'.¹¹¹ Praise extended to the Mint itself, with the *Globe* enthusing: 'Everything is well done at the Mint, where every department is in the best of order',¹¹² while the *St. James's Gazette* thanked the artists and authorities of the Mint 'for saving us from a repetition of the Jubilee outrage'.¹¹³

The first sour note sounded on 7 February in a letter from 'an artist' to the *St. James's Gazette*. After damning the reverses for their 'singular puerility', the correspondent drew attention to 'the unfair withholding from public view of the competing designs' which was the result of 'ignorant officialism, which has so often marred our public undertakings in art'.¹¹⁴ This was seized upon by Spielmann in his 'Artistic Causerie' for the *Graphic*. While Brock and Poynter had performed admirably, 'How about those designs of theirs that were not adopted? And, still more – what of those by the distinguished artists whose work was not successful in the competition?'¹¹⁵ Since November 1891 Spielmann had persistently asked Fremantle for permission to publish all the designs, but to no avail. Now he had the artists themselves on his side.

The failure to notify unsuccessful participants of the results of the competition caused irritation. This was compounded when Fremantle told the artists that both Harcourt and Leighton would deprecate 'any special publication or exhibition' of their designs.¹¹⁶ Nor did the Mint propose to return the artists their models and drawings. As a concession, Leighton approved of the entries being exhibited at the forthcoming Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. However, this did not satisfy Birch, who was sufficiently incensed to write straight to Harcourt:

I have never received an *official* communication as to ... rejection. I cannot help thinking that it would have been an act of courtesy on the part of the authorities to have informed me of their decision before the public statement in the papers.¹¹⁷

Fremantle forwarded Birch's letter to Leighton, reminding him that the Committee 'thought it preferable that the Artists should be informed of their decision through you rather than by a dry indication that their designs had or had not been accepted, and you no doubt told Mr. Birch what had happened'.¹¹⁸ Leighton replied:

I own I am much annoyed at Birch's letter, which, entre nous, seems to be ill-conditioned or, to speak quite plainly, underbred. On the other hand, I have no sort of recollection of ever having been asked by the Committee to communicate with the unsuccessful competitors who, I think, have a grievance if they were not informed.¹¹⁹

It was easy for Leighton, from his 'Olympian' heights as the most fashionable Neo-classical painter of the time and President of the Royal Academy, to damn Birch, a struggling and

¹⁰⁹ *Westminster Budget*, 2 February 1893.

¹¹⁰ *Daily Telegraph*, 31 January 1893.

¹¹¹ *Black and White*, 4 February 1893.

¹¹² *Globe*, 31 January 1893.

¹¹³ *St. James's Gazette*, 31 January 1893.

¹¹⁴ *St. James's Gazette*, 7 February 1893.

¹¹⁵ *Graphic*, 11 February 1893.

¹¹⁶ PRO MINT 7/53, Fremantle to Armstead, Birch, Brock, Ford, Poynter and Thornycroft, undated draft (February 1893).

¹¹⁷ PRO MINT 7/49, Birch to Harcourt, 23 February 1893.

¹¹⁸ PRO MINT 7/49, Fremantle to Leighton, 28 February 1893.

¹¹⁹ PRO MINT 7/49, Leighton to Fremantle, 1 March 1893.

impoverished Associate member.¹²⁰ In belated response, a letter was sent to the competitors, regretting that 'owing to a misapprehension' they had not been directly informed as to the result of the competition.¹²¹

The other artists felt much as Birch did, even if they showed better breeding! Ironically, Leighton's suggestion that the designs should be exhibited at the Royal Academy posed problems that the President himself had overlooked. The number of items any one member could exhibit was limited to eight; with individual artists submitting anything up to eighteen designs, exhibition at the Academy was impossible. All six artists signed a joint letter to Fremantle:

We the undersigned feel that there are two ways of dealing with the competitive designs ... The first – to return the non-accepted models and drawings to their authors – which we think the proper course to pursue – the competition now being over and then the artists can exhibit them or not – as they please. The second – If a public exhibition as suggested by you, be decided on – that the Exhibits should include all the designs sent to the Mint. We feel that in justice to us as artists the whole of our designs should be shown intact, and we should feel compelled to protest against a partial exhibition.¹²²

An indication of the strength of feeling is reflected in a letter from Armstead to Thornycroft, saying 'Evidence as to the legal opinion is fast coming in. Birch has consulted legal opinion'.¹²³ In the event, the authorities backed down. The designs were returned to the artists and the second plan proposed in the joint letter was adopted. According to Glennie's notes, all the designs were put on temporary view at the South Kensington Museum in the following autumn. By 1896, the dust had sufficiently settled for Day to publish his article illustrating most of them in the *Magazine of Art*.

In the longer term, critical reaction to the coinage was perhaps not surprisingly cooler than it had been on Fremantle's open day. A 'numismatist' in the *Sunday Times* described the arrangement as a 'clever ruse' which 'secured in advance a favourable verdict before going public'.¹²⁴ Reactions to the actual coinage took second place to the question of whether the artists should be allowed to publish or exhibit their designs, for which they received unanimous support. Latent Welsh nationalism surfaced in response to the reverse designs. The exclusion of Welsh heraldic symbols from the royal shield prompted demands for design changes to incorporate a red dragon or a leek (Pl. 10, 35). John Leighton of the Society of Antiquaries ruefully commented that he found the leek 'far from decorative and as difficult to conventionalise as a carrot'.¹²⁵ Instead, in suggested design alterations to both the coinage and the Royal Standard, he proposed four lions guardant passant.

The artistic qualities of the coinage inspired a gently humorous poem in *Punch*:

¹²⁰ Birch died seven months later, on 16 October 1893, leaving estate valued at £277. The *Magazine of Art* commented: 'These are parlous times for sculptors not in the fashion... those who could top Westmacott, Chantrey and Nollekens in artistic worth must die worth as many units as they possessed hundreds.' (1894, xii).

¹²¹ PRO MINT 7/44, Glennie to Armstead, Birch, Ford and Thornycroft, 10 March 1893.

¹²² PRO MINT 7/53, Armstead, Birch, Brock, Ford, Poynter and Thornycroft to Fremantle, n.d. (received 12 March 1893). Initially Poynter only consented to sign the first proposal. In a letter to Fremantle of 8 March 1892, he considered 'the second plan rather objectless, as it is evidently of no use proposing to

you that we should exhibit the whole of our designs unless we are agreed to do so. I think the best plan will be as proposed in the first paragraph to let us have our designs and exhibit such of them as we please.' (PRO MINT 7/52). However, by 17 March Poynter agreed to support both proposals.

¹²³ Leeds City Art Gallery, Thornycroft Archive C48, Armstead to Thornycroft, 24 February 1893.

¹²⁴ *Sunday Times*, 5 March 1893.

¹²⁵ *Daily Graphic*, 1 March 1893. Illustrations of the suggested alterations in the coinage reverse and the Royal Standard accompany Leighton's letter to the *Daily Graphic*, 8 March 1893.

Art will now adorn our purses
Hitherto an artless place;
More than pictures, songs or verses,
This should elevate the race.

Is it safe to be prophetic?
Will the miser, once abused,
Be considered quite aesthetic,
With the connoisseur confused?

... Will the cabman now be willing,
After driving half a mile,
To accept a high-art shilling,
Not with oaths, but with a smile?

Will the porter at the station
While his thanks pause on his lip,
Gaze in silent admiration
At the beauty of his tip?

'Music hath', so Congreve stated,
'Charms to soothe the savage breast';
Numismatic art is fated
May be to be likewise blest.¹²⁶

No such blessings came from Harcourt. A consummate politician, he expressed to Queen Victoria 'his entire concurrence in Your Majesty's View that the Queen's head in the new coinage leaves much to be desired both in likeness and execution'.¹²⁷ This would seem to disprove rumours spread by the *Pall Mall Gazette* that 'The Queen, who is hard to please in these matters was, it is whispered, greatly delighted with the final sketch submitted to her'.¹²⁸ In Parliament, the subject of the coinage was used by Harcourt and the Liberal Unionist MP, Parker Smith, as an opportunity to air their numismatic erudition. Smith gave the House a potted history of coinage design, linking style and society: 'It was not until one came to the period of decadence, from Constantine downward, that one found in the Roman coins the wonderful elaboration which was indulged in nowadays.' While he conceded that the bust on the new coins was much more dignified than that on the Jubilee issue, 'he did not think anyone who was conversant with coins would be quite satisfied with it. A great deal too much was attempted to be crowded into the design.' The sovereign reminded him of the whist counters one bought at twenty for 2d. 'As an Imperialist', however, Smith was 'very glad to see the development in feeling which now accepted, with scarcely a word of protest', the 'Ind. Imp.' legend.¹²⁹ Harcourt passed over these political allusions but concurred in Smith's views on the quality of design:

It seems to me as if the numismatic art were a lost art. If we remember the fine medals and coins that were produced by the nations of Europe at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries, and how all the great events of the time were commemorated on the splendid medals of France, Holland and England, we must admit that our progress since then has been in a backward direction.¹³⁰

A further comparison on these lines came in the *Art Journal* from the painter, Philip Wilson Steer. He too agreed that the new design was a great improvement on that of the Jubilee coinage but felt that the proliferation of 'ear-rings, necklaces and orders' gave it 'a certain

¹²⁶ 'The New Coinage', *Punch*, 26 February 1893.

¹²⁷ RA B45/61, Harcourt to Queen Victoria, 1 February 1893.

¹²⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 December 1892.

¹²⁹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th. series, 10, (14 March–4 April 1893), 14 March 1893, pp. 40–1.

¹³⁰ *Parliamentary Debates*, p. 42.

tawdry look'. In comparison, the bust on the coins of Queen Anne had a more dignified aspect by enveloping the shoulders in drapery, 'largely designed'. Less was more, and would better convey 'the idea of Majesty in the abstract'. Poynter's reverses he found 'petty' and 'cramped' – he alone commented on the disproportionate size of the shilling inscription. Steer concluded his assessment by adopting an 'Arts and Crafts' anti-mechanical tone. Compared with the crude vigour of a Charles I coin or the Thomas Simon petition crown of Charles II –

the present series will be found sadly wanting – not indeed in mechanical excellency – that alas is present in too great a degree. It fails where perfected mechanism in Art always fails, in qualities of effect and grandeur of design ... In a word, the modern coin represents the apotheosis of machinery and the almost extinction of Art.¹³¹

Fremantle might have replied that Steer's arguments represented the apotheosis of aesthetically sensitive, Arts and Crafts Movement integrity and the 'almost extinction' of common sense.

There is little recorded of the reaction of those most closely involved in the designs. The *Daily News* claimed that 'Among the warmest admirers of Mr. Brock's work are his professional brethren', confirmed for one by Thornycroft who told Fremantle: 'I think the head of the Queen is capital.'¹³² Brock himself was less than satisfied with the sovereign and shilling coins, which he found –

'in each case unsatisfactory ... there is such a marked difference in the appearance of the head even in coins of the same value that I fear some change must occur when making the working dies. This added to the imperfections inherent in a hastily produced matrix brings about a result that is sometimes too shocking.'¹³³

There is no record of Fremantle's reply and negative evidence would seem to indicate that Brock's disquiet was not widely felt. Indeed, reporting on De Saulles' development on 1 January 1894, Fremantle noted the engraver's part in bringing about 'the favourable reception of coins both by experts and by the public generally'.¹³⁴ As the new Engraver to the Mint, De Saulles translated Brock's designs and engraved a new Britannia for the bronze coinage of 1895.

More recent accounts have endorsed the view that the coinage of 1893 was a considerable improvement on that of 1887, even if the overall reaction might be rendered as 'two cheers'. Writing in 1916, Forrer called the obverse 'a splendid portrait of the Queen by that scholarly sculptor, Sir Thomas Brock', whereas he found Poynter's reverses 'not very satisfactory'.¹³⁵ Sir Charles Oman concurred, describing Brock's obverse as 'a very great improvement – but as much can hardly be said for the new reverses of the florin and shilling'. Brock's half-crown reverse he believed, however, was 'good ... far better than those of 1839 or 1887'.¹³⁶ Much later, Brock's design was reproduced for the cover of the paperback version of Elizabeth Longford's *Victoria, R.I.* (1964). This surely lent weight to Fremantle's belief that Brock's was 'almost the popular portrait of the Queen'.

¹³¹ 'The New Coinage', *Art Journal*, (1893), 71–2.

¹³² PRO MINT 7/51, Thornycroft to Fremantle, 25 March 1893.

¹³³ PRO MINT 7/48, Brock to Fremantle, 6 April 1893.

¹³⁴ PRO T1/8798A 1894–60, Fremantle to Welby, 1 January 1894.

¹³⁵ Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, 6, (1916), pp. 594–5. Brock's interview 'on the mode of producing coin dies' is reprinted here. For Poynter, see Forrer, 4, (1909), p. 679.

¹³⁶ Charles Oman, *The Coinage of England*, (Oxford, 1938), p. 379.

1. Jubilee coinage half-crown (obverse).
2. Brock: design for florin reverse.
- 3a-b. Poynter: designs for florin reverse.
4. Poynter: 'smaller badge' design.
5. Brock: design for shilling reverse.
6. Armstead: design for crown reverse.
7. Armstead: design for sovereign obverse.
8. Armstead: design for sovereign reverse.
- 9a-b. Armstead: design for crown reverse.
10. Armstead: design for florin reverse.
- 11a-b. Birch: obverse designs.
- 12a-b. Birch: designs for crown reverse.
13. Birch: design for half-crown reverse.
14. Brock: Imperial Institute medal (1893), obverse.
- 15a-b. Brock: obverse designs.
16. Brock: design for sovereign reverse.
17. Brock: design for crown reverse.
18. Brock: design for half-crown reverse.
19. Ford: obverse design (1).
20. Ford: obverse design (2).
21. Ford: design for half-sovereign reverse.
22. Ford: design for crown reverse (Royal Mint medallion).
23. Poynter: design for half-crown obverse.
24. Poynter: design for florin obverse.
25. Poynter: reverse design for sovereign, half-sovereign and crown (St. George).
26. Poynter: reverse design (shield of arms).
- 27a-b. Poynter: designs for shilling reverse.
- 28a-b. Thornycroft: obverse designs.
29. Thornycroft: design for half-crown reverse.
30. Wyon: Ashanti Medal (obverse).
31. Brock: approved obverse design.
32. Brock: approved half-crown reverse design.
33. Poynter: approved florin reverse design.
34. Poynter: approved shilling design.
35. Cartoon from the 'Evening Express', 23 February 1893.



1



2



3a



3b



4



5



6



9a



7



8



9b



10



11a



11b



12a



12b



13

PLATE 8



14



15a



15b



16



17



18



19



20



21

STÖCKER: COINAGE OF 1893 (2)



22



23



24



25



26



27a



27b



29



28a



28b



31



33



30



32



34

SNUBBED.



RED DRAGON : What a blooming shame. My people must be asleep. There are two lots of English Lions, one Scotch Lion, and the Irish Harp on the new coinage, and I'm not there at all !

SCOTTISH COIN COLLECTORS

LORD STEWARTBY

In Memoriam J.K.R.M.

ALTHOUGH we know of coin collectors as early as the poet Petrarch in fourteenth-century Florence, it was in the sixteenth century that collecting, stimulated by Renaissance interest in antiquity, became widely established and the first numismatic books began to appear. In the seventeenth century more recent coins as well as the classical came to figure more prominently in the cabinets of curiosities which became fashionable among the nobility and gentry, and the science of numismatics began to develop from the pursuit of collecting. From those earliest stages, knowledge of coins and coinage has owed much to the work of collectors, and the boundary between pastime and study has never been a clear one. Collectors often take pride in having specimens that belonged to famous collections of the past, and so take care to preserve the pedigree of their pieces. But such records are of more than antiquarian interest. To give a few examples, they can be useful in establishing the number of surviving specimens of particular types or varieties; they may help in determining the authenticity of doubtful coins; or they can provide evidence for the contents of hoards dispersed long ago without proper record. Yet relatively little has been written about the part played by collectors and their collections in the history of the subject, and it is not always easy to find the necessary information. The notes in the following pages on collectors and collections of Scottish coins are therefore offered in the hope that they may prove useful to students as well as to collectors of the series.

This essay was originally drafted, in much briefer form, in the 1970s, by the late Lieut.-Colonel J.K.R. Murray. With his usual modesty he doubted whether it merited publication. For several years we both gathered additional information and he agreed that I should produce a longer version which could be published. Because of other commitments I was unable to complete this during his lifetime, but having now done so I offer it as a memorial to Jock Murray, a most accomplished student and diligent collector of Scottish coins, in gratitude for many years of co-operation and friendship, and for his important contribution to the subject of our common interest.

In compiling these notes we have drawn on a wide range of sources, many of which contain much more information than is recorded here. Many leading collectors, especially of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have qualified on other grounds for inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Burke's *Peerage and Landed Gentry*, Crockford's *Clerical Directory*, *Who Was Who*, and other such works of reference. Biographical particulars about collectors are sometimes given in sale catalogues, and these are invaluable, especially for those who were not otherwise prominent persons. Various references to leading numismatists and contributions from them occur in early periodicals, and these have recently been collated in an essential work by Mr Harrington Manville, a companion volume to his equally indispensable catalogue of British numismatic auction sales.¹ For further information the reader may find it useful to consult the introduction to Cochran-Patrick's *Records*, which contains an excellent survey of the literature of the subject up to his own time;² two historical accounts, of the National Museum and of Scottish numismatics, in the volume marking the

¹ H. E. Manville, *Numismatic Guide to British and Irish Periodicals 1731-1991*, 1993; H. E. Manville and T. J. Robertson, *British Numismatic Auction Catalogues 1710-1984*, 1986.

² R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, 1876, I, pp. ii-xi.

bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland;³ and recent articles in this *Journal* on Edward Burns and James Wingate.⁴

For the golden age of Scottish coin collecting, in the second half of the nineteenth century, we have fortunately been able to use a considerable amount of unpublished information from contemporary correspondence. Much of this has been obtained from the hundreds of surviving letters written to R.W. Cochran-Patrick by Edward Burns, the Rev. J.H. Pollexfen, Sheriff T. Mackenzie, J. Kermack Ford and other leading numismatists and collectors of his day. Many other letters, from the British Museum, the Scottish Record Office and elsewhere, were written during the time when Cochran-Patrick was collecting material for his various works on Scottish coins and medals and on mining in Scotland. All these letters have been mounted in nine large albums and cover the years 1871–79. Unfortunately many letters must have been lost, since the archive contains only one letter from Burns of 1884, and none of the earlier 1880s. A quantity of letters written to John Lindsay, about Scottish and other coins, also survives. Like the Cochran-Patrick letters, many were in the possession of Hunter of Hunterston, Cochran-Patrick's great-grandson, to whom we were very much indebted for access to them.⁵

Our main concern has been with those collectors who put together important collections of Scottish coins in a systematic manner. Such collections may have contained fewer than a hundred coins or as many as two thousand. In the main Scottish coins have formed only a part, and usually quite a small part, of a larger British or general collection, the object being merely to have a representative selection of coins occupying one or two trays in a cabinet. Such collections have often contained excellent coins, but they are of relatively little significance for the student since the presence of rare or interesting specimens was often due to wealth or chance. Only seldom has a collector confined his collecting to Scottish coins alone. Of the collections formed by Mackenzie and Cochran-Patrick, only Scottish coins appeared in the sale catalogues, but at one time Mackenzie also had a strong interest in English medieval pennies, while Cochran-Patrick's collection included Scottish medals and he also had some Greek and Roman coins. Wingate's collection, although predominantly Scottish, also contained some ancient coins. While most collectors who included Scottish coins in their collections generally had coins covering the whole period from David I or William the Lion to the Union, many others specialised in one way or another. Some, like the Revd. H. Christmas, H.A. Parsons or R. Carlyon-Britton, have had no gold coins, a feature in particular of twentieth-century collections as a result of their greatly increased cost. Other collections, conversely, have been confined to gold, such as those of R.D. Wills, E. Wertheimer and R. Strauss. Again, this is a consequence of high market values, as coins came to be regarded as a suitable medium for investment in inflationary times. Some collectors of the English series, such as H. Montagu, confined their Scottish series to the period after the Union of Crowns in 1603. Others have specialised chiefly in one reign or another – notably S.P. Fay in Mary; H.M. Lingford in James VI and L.V. Larsen in Anne.

It is of course impossible to mention more than a small proportion of those who have been collecting Scottish coins at any period. Most of the names included here have picked themselves because of their prominence as collectors or students, but others have found a place in order to illustrate the attitudes of collectors or their approach to the subject. The number of collectors who are well known to their contemporaries, let alone to later

³ *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, edited by A. S. Bell, 1981: R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The Museum, its Beginnings and its Development', pp. 31–85 and 142–211; I. Stewart, 'Two Centuries of Scottish Numismatics', pp. 227–65.

⁴ I. Stewart, 'Edward Burns', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 89–98; Lord

Stewartby, 'The Wingate Sale 1875', *BNJ* 62 (1992), 175–84.

⁵ Neil Cochran-Patrick, later Hunter, died in 1994; R. W. Cochran-Patrick in 1866 had married the daughter of Robert Hunter of Hunterston, and the chiefship of Clan Hunter descended through their only daughter.

generations, has never been great. But we may assume that collecting on a smaller scale was popular long before our own age. There are reputed to have been at least two hundred coin collectors in France in the 1560s. Outside the landowning and official classes we do not hear much of individual collectors before the nineteenth century. Although the professions are represented – churchmen, doctors, scientists and so on – there is little record of merchants or manufacturers before the Victorian era. From that time onwards, however, we find more evidence of collectors who had built their own fortune, or whose families had done so not long before. More recently, we can see how rising prosperity, increased leisure and wider education have all contributed to enlarging the range of collectors in our own time. With these changes has gone a distinct shift of emphasis in the objectives of collecting. While in earlier times the aim had usually been to put together a select series in the finest state, as numismatic studies progressed there came a greater attention to detailed varieties, and increased competition led to the acceptance of specimens in lesser condition, especially for the rarer items. Such pieces are now well recorded in sale catalogues, but in earlier times there is little detailed mention of rare medieval coins that would excite students today, and in assessing the calibre of an early collection we often therefore have to rely on the presence of the more spectacular gold coins or the rarer silver of Mary or James VI.

While we cannot point to any collection of Scottish coins that was certainly completed before 1700, we know of several that had their origins in the seventeenth century. One of these, which was largely formed by Francis WILLOUGHBY (d.1672), distinguished ornithologist and original Fellow of the Royal Society, and by his son the first Lord Middleton, was retained by their descendants until 1926. It contained few Scottish coins, but among them was a worn Mary portrait testoon of 1553. Another early collection, put together by the Earls of BRIDGEWATER, was not dispersed until 1972 and the Sotheby catalogue thus gives us a detailed view of its contents. Although there are a few isolated items of later date, up to 1805, the main English series concludes in 1740, suggesting that the true collection was closed during the time of Scroop Egerton, fourth Earl and first Duke, who died in 1745 and had been Lord of the Bedchamber to George I. But the heart of the collection and its greatest individual treasures belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a remarkable run of rarities from the Civil War period. This suggests that the founder of the cabinet could have been John Egerton (1579–1649), created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617 and sometime MP for Shropshire and Lord Lieutenant of Wales, or his son John (1622–86), who succeeded him as second earl in 1649, and who was at various times Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire and other counties, and High Steward of Oxford University. But it continues in strength from James II to George II and must have been actively tended for at least fifty years after the second earl's death. One of those involved was probably Jane, widow of the third earl, whom she survived from 1701 to 1716. For in 1705, when Thomas Hearne showed the Dowager Countess round the Bodleian Library, she 'talk'd very much of coins which she seemed to understand well, & declar'd a great affection for learning.'⁶ The English coins in the collection go back to the twelfth century but, apart from a specimen of the rare gold half-demy of James I, there is no Scottish coin earlier than a groat of James V. This, together with the fact that several of the silver coins are worn, suggests that they had been taken from currency rather than from hoards. Among the Scottish rarities were a fine gold three pound piece of Mary of the very rare date 1557, twenty pound pieces of both 1575 and 1576, a worn silver twenty shillings of 1584 (the second known specimen) and beautiful examples of the four and two merks of 1664,

⁶ Hearne's *Collections* (Oxford Historical Society), vol. i, p. 36, diary entry for 28 August 1705. The lady concerned was the daughter of the first Duke of Bolton, and in 1673 had

married John (1646–1701), who in 1686 became the third earl. I owe this reference and a number of other helpful comments on the text to Mr Hugh Pagan.

the first year of Charles II's new silver coinage with Thomas Simon's portrait. There was also a splendid specimen of Briot's angel of Charles I, often regarded as an English pattern but which documentary evidence indicates was specially produced in Edinburgh for the king's Scottish coronation visit in 1633. Along with most of the Bridgewater estates, the collection was inherited by the Earls of Ellesmere in the nineteenth century by whom it was for many years deposited for safety in the British Museum.

Unlike the Bridgewater collection, which covered the whole British series including Anglo-Irish and even Anglo-American coins, with English predominant, the collection of James SUTHERLAND (c. 1639–1719) had a strong focus on the coinage of his native Scotland, even though it also included Greek, Roman, English and other coins. Sutherland was the first Scot known to us to have been a serious coin collector, and a number of the Scottish national collection's greatest treasures came from him, such as the unique James IV crown with St Andrew holding his cross, the 1524 gold medal of John Duke of Albany and the 1558 portrait ducat of Francis and Mary. As can be deduced from Sutherland's manuscript catalogue, many of his coins unfortunately were included in the duplicates sales of 1873–4.

More is known of Sutherland as a botanist than as an antiquary. But he was clearly a man of many parts, a person of modest origins whose ability and energy impressed his contemporaries and brought him advancement and distinction. Sir Robert Sibbald, who became first Professor of Physic in Edinburgh University in 1685, and had decided some twenty years earlier to establish a botanical garden in Edinburgh, records that he had 'become acquaint with Master James Sutherland, a youth, who, by his owne industry, had attained great knowledge of the plants and of medals, and he undertook the charge of the culture of it.' The Physic Garden of which Sutherland became keeper consisted of sites at Holyrood and Trinity Hospital, and in 1676 he was granted an annual salary of £20 sterling. He was formally appointed Professor of Botany in 1695, but ten years later his salary was reduced to £5 on the grounds that he had been neglecting his duties. He thereupon resigned, stating that he had 'resolved to live more retiredly and to quit the said professor, and apply himself to the study of medals'. In the same year (1705), however, he decided to provide for himself by selling his coin collection to the Faculty of Advocates for an annuity of £600 Scots money and the promise of a decent funeral.⁷

Like Sutherland's, a considerable part of the collection of John SHARP (1645–1714) who was Archbishop of York from 1691 until his death, was compiled during the seventeenth century, since we know from a note in his will that he began collecting in 1687. In that year he had been suspended from acting as chaplain-in-ordinary to James II for preaching sermons held to be critical of the king. But he remained active in public as well as church affairs, being sworn of the Privy Council in 1702 and later appointed one of the Commissioners for the Scottish Union. Sharp's collection was a large general one of British and foreign coins and medals, of which the foreign portion was sold in 1966 and the English coins and medals from Charles I and the Colonial series in 1977. The remainder of the British portion is still in private hands and includes nearly 200 Scottish coins from David I to Queen Anne. The Scottish coins are an erratic conglomeration. The reigns of William the Lion and Alexander III are each represented by twelve coins, James IV and V each by one coin, and so on. The imbalance in the individual parts of the collection may have been due to the difficulty of obtaining a representative series at this period, although hoards no doubt sometimes helped. Thus, of the sterlings of William the Lion, all of the short-cross coinage, the ten of Hue Walter

⁷ Sir Robert Sibbald's *Autobiography*, 1833, pp. 21–2; A. Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, 1884, pp. 220 and 378–9; and on the Advocates' collection, 'Pericles',

'Parliament House, Going-going-gone', *Law Society Journal*, March 1976, 88 (followed by a letter from R. B. K. Stevenson 'The Faculty's Coin Collection', May 1976, 166).

are all of the first three of the six Burns classes, and could have derived from a single find. It is also noteworthy that, among only eight coins in all of James II, III and IV, Sharp had three half-groats of James III–IV, a very rare denomination after the fourteenth century. His ten gold coins include a Francis and Mary ducat, long thought to be a forgery, but now considered genuine.⁸ Alongside this extremely rare and valuable coin are ten counterfeit bawbees, nonsunts and placks of Mary. The Sharp collection is of particular interest because of the archbishop's work on the British coinage, and it formed the basis of his *Observations* on the English, Scottish and Irish coinages. These were written during the last years of the seventeenth century but they were not actually published until 1785, although a number of manuscript copies were made, probably during Sharp's lifetime.

The earliest printed account of the Scottish coinage is contained in Archdeacon (later, Bishop) William Nicolson's *Scottish Historical Library*, published in 1702. In the preface to this work, and in the chapter entitled 'Of the Medals and Coins of Scotland', Nicolson pays tribute for their assistance to Sutherland and Sharp, as two of the most notable collectors of the time. This was followed by James Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiae Thesaurus*, which he began in 1705 after receiving a grant from the Scottish Parliament of £8,600 Scots 'to enable him to print an account of the ancient charters and seals of the kingdom'. Further grants of money were made in later years and the scope of the work was enlarged to include Scottish coins and other matter. There are five plates of Scottish gold coins and eleven of silver, largely drawn from the Sutherland collection. Although the book was not published until 1739, it seems likely that it had been substantially completed during Anderson's lifetime (1662–1727).

Ralph THORESBY (1658–1725), to whom Sharp had addressed his *Observations* in 1698–9, was the son of a prosperous Leeds cloth merchant, of roundhead allegiance, who had bought a collection of coins and medals from the executors of the Parliamentary general Lord Fairfax. On his father's death in 1679 he inherited business and collection, but his antiquarian interests seem to have engaged an increasing proportion of his time, and in 1698 he was briefly in prison for debt following the failure of a business venture. Proud of his Yorkshire ancestry – he was of the same family as John Thoresby, Archbishop of York in the reign of Edward III – Ralph Thoresby made an extensive study of the Leeds area and its antiquities, recorded in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, which he began about 1691 and published in 1715. The *Ducatus* includes ten pages listing his Scottish coins, among them some rare items, such as a Linlithgow groat of James I and a half-groat of James IV. He also had a *Crux Pellit* copper penny, correctly ascribed to James III, and a 1567 thirty shillings of James VI with the sword type, which (following Nicolson) he recognized as being due to the influence of George Buchanan: two associations that were subsequently overlooked in Scottish numismatic works until the twentieth century. Thoresby's collection passed to his son Ralph, after whose death it was sold by auction in London in 1764.

Competition for Scottish coins does not seem to have been high in the early and middle years of the eighteenth century. One of the earliest sales to contain a reasonable series of Scottish coins, and indeed the first considerable auction of the British series as a whole, was that of Edward Harley (1689–1741), second Earl of OXFORD, which was conducted 'by Mr. Cock, at his House in the Great Piazza, Covent-Garden' in March 1741–2. There were thirty Scottish gold coins from Robert III to William II in lots 358 to 370, and their value seems to have depended largely on their gold content, since for each lot the total weight in pennyweights and grains is given. Martin FOLKES, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and prospective author of a book on English coins, bought several lots,

⁸ J. K. R. Murray, 'Mary Queen of Scots', *SCMB*, 1984, 45–6.

including one with a gold coin attributed to James IV and a ducat and two-thirds ducat of James V for two guineas. The eight lots of silver coins went equally cheaply, Briscoe paying £1 15s. for the medieval coins in lot 371 which included eighteen groats, five half-groats, thirteen pennies and two halfpennies. He also paid £3 15s. for the next lot, of coins of Mary, which included ten testoons, seven ryals or fractions and 'Four Coins not in Anderson's Tables', while Folkes paid £3 for the following lot, consisting of forty coins of James VI.

The weights of the gold coins were also given in the catalogue of the Museum Meadianum, the collection of Dr Richard MEAD (1673–1754), physician to Kings George I and II and Vice-President of the Royal Society, which was sold in February 1755. At the seventh day's sale Thomas Snelling, the Fleet Street dealer, paid £2 13s. for lot 19, which contained a demy, a unicorn and a half, and a ducat and two-thirds. Mead's twenty-pound piece of 1576 went for £4 10s. to James WEST, FRS (1704?–1772), a renowned antiquary who served as Secretary to the Treasury from 1741 to 1762, and whose coins were sold with the rest of his 'Museum of Curiosities' at Langford's in Feb.–March 1773. The modest price of Scottish silver coins may again be judged from the cost to John White of £2 15s. for twenty pieces from Alexander to William and Mary (lot 17).

Unlike Lord Oxford's, several of the grander aristocratic collections of the eighteenth century were retained by family descendants for generations, notably those of the Pembrokes, Devonshires and Butes. The great PEMBROKE collection, of which illustrations had been published in 1746, was sold in 1848. It had been put together by Thomas Herbert (1656–1732/3), the eighth earl, who was also responsible for gathering many of the pictures, marbles and books at Wilton House, and who became President of the Royal Society as well as Lord President of the Council to Queen Anne and Viceroy of Ireland. Later in the eighteenth century the coins were put in Coutts Bank by trustees and were not discovered until many years later when the cabinets in the cellars started to disintegrate and cleaners found that they were sweeping up coins that had emerged. Although J.W. Martin described the collection as much inferior to that of the Devonshires, the sale by Sotheby in July–August 1848 ran for twelve days, and the catalogue by Thomas Burgon of the British Museum was very good. There were sixteen lots of Scottish silver and billon coins, including a 1553 portrait testoon of Mary, while the twelve lots of Scottish gold included a ryal of 1555, a twenty-pound piece of 1575 and a lion noble of 1584. Although the Scottish series comprised only a very small part of a large general collection, it consisted of choice pieces evidently selected with care.

The DEVONSHIRE collection, outstanding in range and quality, had been sold by Christie's four years earlier, in March 1844. A note in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1849 comments that 'the slovenly cataloguing of that collection provoked the censure of all who attended at its dispersion' and a manuscript note in a copy of the catalogue says that it was 'compiled by John Doubleday of the B. Museum and not well done.' Nonetheless it sold for the substantial sum of £7056. Although subsequently added to, the collection was already important by the death in 1729 of William Cavendish, the second Duke, Lord Steward of the Household to Anne and George I and later Lord President of the Council, who had obtained many coins from the collection of Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753).⁹ The Greek and Roman coins occupied seven days of sale, and the Saxon and English (including the Scottish) a further five days. Again the Scottish section was small but select, nearly a hundred silver coins from William the Lion to Anne and twenty-five gold coins including a half-ryal of 1558 and a twenty-pound piece of 1575.

Unlike the Pembroke and Devonshire collections, that of the earls and marquesses of BUTE remained in the family intact throughout the nineteenth century, and does not seem to have

⁹ H. E. Pagan, 'Andreas Fountaine Eques Auratus A.A.A.F. III Vir', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 114–22.

been accessible to numismatic authors from Lindsay to Burns. Although considerably expanded by his successors, the greater part of the Bute collection was put together by John Stuart (1718–92), the third earl, a close friend of George III who became his Prime Minister in 1762–3. He had a wide interest in architecture, botany and antiquities, and became President of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a Trustee of the British Museum. A manuscript catalogue of the Bute collection apparently compiled in the late 1760s shows that amongst the British and foreign series there were at that time fifty-eight Scottish gold coins, 144 in silver, thirty-nine ‘large silver’, and thirty in copper and billon. Jonathan Rashleigh examined the collection about 1850 and recorded that it included fifty-seven Scottish gold coins and sixty-six (?) in silver, the latter figure surely an error. Rashleigh remarked that ‘The Scotch coins appear to have been selected with an attempt to form a series; also considerable regard has been paid to the condition of the specimens, for most of them are in good preservation, and they form altogether a very fair collection.’¹⁰ The coins were sold at Sotheby’s in 1951, by which time the Scottish portion had increased in size to eighty-one gold and over four hundred silver coins.¹¹ There were many outstanding rarities, including some early sterlings from a hoard found in the Isle of Man before 1769, a unique half-unicorn of James IV, a one-third ducat of James V, a silver forty-shilling piece of 1582 and a gold lion noble of James VI. Despite illustration by Snelling and Cardonnel, Burns did not mention the existence of the James IV half-unicorn, with a capital I in the centre of the sun on the reverse, nor some other important items in the Bute collection such as the unique group II half-groat of James III with unicorn-style cross-ends.

Of the various collections compiled by the anatomist Dr William HUNTER, FRS (1718–83), physician to Queen Charlotte, which formed the basis of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, the coin collection is the best known and the most justly famous. Not until 1770, when he had been in London for nearly thirty years, did he begin a systematic collection of coins and medals, but during the last thirteen years of his life his account book shows that he spent more than £20,000 on his coins alone. He purchased widely in Britain and on the continent, and at the time of his death it was said that his collection was second only to that of the King of France. He preferred to buy complete cabinets from other collectors, retaining the best specimens and selling the remainder. Except for the medieval and modern issues of continental Europe, Hunter planned to include every series of importance, concentrating in particular on classical coins. His Scottish coins are patchy, but they include outstanding rarities such as the David II gold noble, which cost him £21 in 1780. From the outset Hunter had contemplated a bequest or gift, and by 1781 he had decided on Glasgow University, where he was educated, as the recipient. Only in 1807 were the coins actually despatched there. Since reaching Glasgow the collection has been plundered by thieves on at least two occasions. In the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a possibility that it might be sold so as to raise money for other purposes. In 1875 Cochran-Patrick suggested that unless it could be made accessible to scholars it ought to be sold to the British Museum or National Museum in Edinburgh, but this threat has long since passed away. Out of some 670 Scottish coins in the Hunterian Museum included in the *Sylloge* of the Oxford and Glasgow collections published in 1986, 417 are noted in the trays as having belonged to Hunter himself. As can be seen from the plates of the *Sylloge*, Hunter’s specimens are for the most part in unusually fine condition.

After Anderson’s *Thesaurus* in 1739, Scottish coins featured in Martin Folkes’s *Tables* of

¹⁰ I. Stewart, ‘Note on the Contents of the Bute Collection’, *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), 53–6.

¹¹ Some of this increase may have been due to the third marquess (1847–1900), who was noted for his scholarly tastes

and who acquired Lindsay’s collection of Irish coins by private treaty from J. G. Lornie (*SCBI* 32, Belfast Hiberno-Norse, p. 15 and *SCBI* 8, British Museum Hiberno-Norse, p. 56).

English coins published in 1745 (post-1603 only) and in the plates of the Pembroke collection in the following year. But increasing interest in the subject among collectors as the eighteenth century progressed led to the appearance of the first two publications devoted solely to Scottish coins. Snelling's *View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Scotland* was published posthumously in 1774 along with plates of gold, billon and copper coins for which he had not lived long enough to produce an accompanying text. Many of his descriptions were based on coins belonging to Hunter. In treating also the gold, billon and copper series, Adam de Cardonnel's *Numismata Scotiae* (1786) counts as the earliest volume on the subject as a whole. Though drawing extensively on Snelling, it is not without originality, as in reproducing extracts from relevant statutes and in recording sterlings of the crescent coinage of William the Lion, hitherto unrecognised, from the Dyke hoard of 1780. Of these he wrote that 'different collectors have shared in this curious discovery, from the pieces being at first dispersed by the means of itinerant pedlars.'

Other eighteenth-century collections including Scottish coins have left their mark in this series chiefly through the record of individually important pieces from them obtained by later collectors. For example, Cochran-Patrick's specimen of the one-merk piece of 1579 came from a collection sold in 1874 which had been formed by Hugh HOWARD (1675–1738). The son of a Dublin physician, who had acquired Shelton Abbey, Co. Wicklow, Howard rose to be Paymaster of the Board of Works. On his death his property, including the collection, passed to his brother Robert, Bishop of Elphin, whose descendants were to become Earls of Wicklow. Almost all of the sixty-six Scottish coins in the Howard collection were from the reign of Mary onwards.

Sir William FORBES of Pitsligo (1739–1806), banker and literary figure, had a small collection which was sold by Sotheby in May 1968. Unfortunately it was amalgamated in the catalogue with coins from another source, but a new specimen of the extremely rare gold £6 piece of Charles I's first coinage (later Murray lot 32) is the sort of coin that one might see come to light from a long-dormant collection. Little is known of another small eighteenth-century collection, sold by L.H. SCOTT PLUMMER, of Galashiels, in 1929. But it was notable for containing a unique muled abbey crown of Mary¹² and an example of the one-third lion noble of James VI, of which only the Antiquaries and Wingate specimens had been known to Burns. The Revd. Richard SOUTHGATE (1729–95) was however a prominent numismatist, whose collection contained a specimen of the excessively rare first coinage of William the Lion, now in the British Museum where Southgate had been a librarian. The last great collection of the eighteenth century was that of Samuel TYSSSEN, of Narborough Hall, Norfolk, whose sale was spread over twenty-six days in April and May 1802. Tyssen, of whom there is a charming portrait in the front of his catalogue, is stated therein to have had a 'fortune extremely ample', to have collected with 'indefatigable perseverance', so that 'scarcely a day was suffered to elapse without some addition being made to his collection'. Tyssen acquired several good collections *en bloc*, including Southgate's. Out of over three thousand lots in his sale, there were forty-eight of silver Scottish coins from William the Lion to Anne, and some notable gold pieces, including a 30s. piece of 1558 and the unique pattern angel of James IV, which fetched £18 16s. 6d.

Since the time of James CUMMYNG, keeper of the Lyon Records and first secretary of the

¹² This coin, later lot 490 in the Beresford-Jones sale (Spink, 7 March 1995), is from an obverse die of the normal variety with unbarred A and a reverse die with barred A. Presumably unaware of this coin, Burns had compared the barred A on the very rare variety (B. fig. 807) with that on coins of James V, but Stevenson argued that it related to the Mary bawbees of his

class Ib iii, and should therefore be later than the normal variety of crown, which corresponds with the earliest (Ia) Mary bawbees (BNJ 59, 129). The fact that the obverse die of the Scott Plummer crown is rusty supports the Stevenson arrangement.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, who published a paper on the silver coins of the first four Jameses in 1792, there had been few collectors who were students of the series. But although the early part of the nineteenth century was not a period when serious numismatic pursuit flourished in this country, some considerable collections continued to be formed. One of the richest was that of Thomas DIMSDALE, the banker, who had a small Scottish group in a wide-ranging collection sold in July 1824 'at most extraordinary and unheard-of prices'.¹³ Another belonged to Marmaduke TRATTLE (1752–1831), a West India merchant, who lived at the Rectory house of Allhallows, London Wall, for fifty years, and whose 'residence was the focus of nearly all the numismatists of his age'.¹⁴ Sotheby's catalogue (May–June 1832) claimed, probably with justification, that 'This collection contains more choice and unique Specimens than has ever before been offered for Public Sale in this Country'. Trattle's gold £6 piece by Briot, Dimsdale's 1561 testoon and coins from Tyssen and other distinguished collections of the period, found their way into the collection of Lt.-Col. William DURRANT, of Lowestoft, whose sale occupied nine days in April 1847. His coins were of exceptional quality, at least in part the result of his habit of upgrading the condition of his pieces by switching them for superior specimens when viewing before a sale. But the implication of this is that some of the pedigrees at this period may be unreliable.¹⁵

Few collectors at this time had more than an incidental interest in Scottish coins, but a notable exception was the Revd. Joseph William MARTIN, one of the founder members of the Numismatic Society in 1836. Martin was Rector of Keston, near Bromley, Kent, from 1800 until his death in 1859. He was interested only in British coins, seeking to put together a select representative cabinet of the highest quality. The whole Scottish series, amounting to nearly 250 pieces, was evenly represented and contained many of the great rarities. In gold he had a noble of David II, the only type II (left-facing) rider of James III known to Lindsay, a half-crown of James IV and almost all the denominations and types of James VI. In silver he had some outstanding pieces, including the first David I sterling of Stephen's type to be published (lot 412), a Malcolm IV with facing bust, and farthings of Robert Bruce and David II. That Martin had relatively few of the rare mints of the groat series is not surprising in view of a remark in one of his letters to Lindsay: 'My object from first to last has been the promotion of a private gentleman's cabinet, and I have always been much disposed to laugh at those who pay exclusive attention to types, mint marks, towns and mint masters, except as curators of museums.' Martin's letters to Lindsay show the rector to have been not only a discriminating collector, but also a keen and sometimes combative student of the Anglo-Saxon and Scottish series; the two men corresponded extensively in connection with the production of Lindsay's books in 1842 and 1845, and Martin offered many items for illustration in both of them. In 1849, bemoaning (quite unreasonably) the shortcomings of his Scottish collection, Martin wrote to Lindsay 'It is singular but I have always had a predilection for Scotch coins and have paid much attention to them. Neither labour nor expense has been spared.' He remarked that he had been 'by many years the first in the market', and had been collecting for nearly fifty years.¹⁶ As early as 1815 we find him writing to the London dealer Matthew Young, saying that he had been ill for some weeks, complaining that when he invited Mr Dimsdale to stay 'he fought shy and was laid up with a convenient cold', and begging Young to send him some coins.¹⁷ By 1849 he was no longer buying much. 'Living very retired in the country', he wrote, 'I have little chance of procuring anything but what has been refused by the London Cognoscenti.' When he died ten years later, however, the sale of his collection in May 1859

¹³ Manville, *Periodicals*, p. 105.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁵ 'Old Collectors Never Die', *SCMB*, January 1978, 5–7.

¹⁶ N. Shiel, 'Letters of Numismatic Interest Addressed to

John Lindsay of Cork', *BNJ* 54 (1984), 51–62.

¹⁷ A. Porritt, *Matthew Young and his Numismatic Correspondents a Century and a Half Ago*, Newcastle, 1967, p. 8.

lasted for five days and confirmed it to be one of the few really distinguished collections of British coins formed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

John LINDSAY, one of the most prolific numismatic authors and correspondents of his day, was a barrister who lived in Cork. He died aged eighty-one in December 1870, but his coins had been sold in August 1867. He contributed several articles to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but is chiefly remembered today for his books on the coinages of Ireland (1839), the Heptarchy (1842), Scotland (1845), with its two supplements, and the Parthians (1852). The illustrations in Lindsay's book on the Scottish coinage are drawn with such accuracy that many of the coins can be identified today. In the prefaces to his books there are many references to the voluminous correspondence which he conducted with other collectors and students of the time.¹⁸ His large collection of British, Greek, Roman, foreign and other coins included 635 Scottish. They are particularly strong from David I to the fifteenth century, Lindsay having been well placed through writing his book to know which were the rarer and more interesting varieties.

There had been little work done on the Scottish coinage in the early nineteenth century before Lindsay's, but mention should be made of an important article published in 1832 by the Revd. Dr John JAMIESON (1759–1838) in which he established the validity of the attribution of early sterlings to David I. Jamieson had a reasonable general coin collection, which was sold in 1839, including some notable items such as a gold one-third bonnet piece of 1540, but he is better known as the author of a number of works including the *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, and as an active editor who helped to revive the Scottish Society of Antiquaries. He had begun collecting at about the age of ten, but straitened circumstances as a minister in the Secession church, and with a large family, meant that his more ambitious collecting had to wait until he was appointed to an Edinburgh church on a much larger stipend.

Martin's correspondence with Lindsay shows how difficult it still was in the 1840s to gather together a good representative body of material for illustration, as it had been in the case of the earlier work on Scottish coinage published in the eighteenth century. One of the reasons why Scottish coins had not been very extensively collected or studied before the middle of the nineteenth century was that, although by that time there were respectable collections in the possession of public bodies, they were for practical purposes inaccessible. By 1835, when it appointed a committee to consider the future of its collection, the Faculty of Advocates seems to have had little idea about what to do with the important collection that it had acquired from James Sutherland in 1705. The committee reported that 'In their present defective state they are altogether unavailable for any of the purposes of a collection of coins', observing also that they were 'of so little marketable value' to be hardly worth selling. In 1842 Martin complained of the Advocates collection that 'every single piece was wrapped in paper and the box containing the coins stood in a vaulted chamber without light', while at Glasgow, which had the great collection of William Hunter, 'the personal attendance of three professors is necessary to view the coins, and when last there they were all in their original wrappers of paper'. He seems to have been justified in his observation three years later that 'Messrs the Scots seem to me to care very little about numismatics'.

The *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1838 observes that the prices realised at the sale of Matthew Young's numismatic books 'afford good evidence that the taste for numismatic pursuits is gaining ground in the country'. In addition to Martin and Lindsay, several other collectors put together important groups of Scottish coins at this time and during the next ten or twenty

¹⁸ Lindsay's extensive numismatic and archaeological correspondence is listed in some detail in the sale catalogue of the coin collection and numismatic library of his younger Irish

contemporary, the Rev. W. C. Neligan (Sotheby, 10–15 November 1881). The Lindsay letters acquired by Cochran-Patrick were doubtless from this source.

years. They included W. Ferguson, whose coins were sold in 1851, J.D. Cuff (1854), R. Addison (1855), W.W. Hay-Newton (1861), and the Revd. Henry Christmas (1864). Some of these collectors were Scotsmen living in Scotland while others appear to have been persons having little in common with Scotland except for their strong interest in its coinage.

William FERGUSON, an Edinburgh lawyer, supplied John Lindsay with a great deal of information. His coin collection, sold shortly after his death, consisted mainly of English and Scottish coins, with some Greek coins and foreign medals. His Scottish coins numbered about 580 of which sixty-five were gold. All reigns were well represented, particularly William the Lion, Alexander III and Mary (of whom he had about a hundred coins). He had some notable individual coins, including a halfpenny of David II, a Dundee penny of Robert II, and a thorough series of groats of the rare mints from David II to James II (including Dumbarton). He also had some remarkable coins of James VI, including the two-thirds ryal with the error date 1561, two two-merk pieces of 1579 and a one-merk of 1580. Though he had no example of the £20 piece he had two gold lion nobles and a two-thirds lion noble, coins which have always been more difficult although less expensive to obtain. Ferguson was highly regarded by Martin, who in 1849 wrote to Lindsay 'I owe much to William Ferguson of Edinburgh who died in March last ... He had a few rare pieces, of the earlier series particularly a half groat of James II better than mine, but by no means good, and I believe a complete series of Mary testoons with some extraordinary dates. He was a writer to the Signet but I am afraid with very little practice, and although he possessed a good knowledge of Scottish coins, and was an ardent collector, yet from his deficiency of means, he was unable to cope with two or three others, who ignorant of what they purchased, bore off in triumph what he valued because possessed of a heavier purse. Such is often the case and few things more galling to a judicious collector'.

Outstanding among those with a heavier purse was James Dodsley CUFF, FSA (1780–1853), who lived at Clapham New Park, London, and was employed in the Bank of England for nearly fifty years. He was elected treasurer of the newly formed Numismatic Society and was later Vice-President; several articles by him appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. In an Obituary Notice it is stated that 'His rich collection of Saxon and English coins ... was ever open to the numismatic enquirer', that he was 'courteous, communicative and liberal' and that he was at all times ready to render assistance. In 1842 Martin described Cuff as 'the great Leviathan of the present day'. He certainly had a most impressive and expensively compiled collection. In addition to his Anglo-Saxon, English and Scottish coins, he had some Roman and Greek, Anglo-Gallic and Colonial, and an extensive numismatic library. His Scottish coins, which did not come up until the fifteenth day of his sale in June and July 1854, numbered about 640 in all, of which eighty-six were gold. He had good early coins, including David I, and a rich series of the later period, with a gold 20s. piece of 1543, two-merk pieces of 1578 and 1579, a beautiful 40s. piece of 1582, and two gold lion nobles. We may infer that Cuff took a strong interest in his Scottish coins, for his copy of Cardonnel contains numerous comments in his neat hand, as well as a number of drawings of Scottish coins. Besides this, there was in Burns's possession in 1875 a large volume of drawings and clippings of Cuff's, some relating to Scottish coins.

Robert ADDISON, of Appleby, Westmorland, collected English and Scottish coins and medals as well as Roman coins in gold and silver. His collection, sold in December 1855, included more than four hundred Scottish coins, many of them bought at the Pembroke sale, notably an unusually fine Mary portrait testoon of 1553, now in the Royal Scottish Museum, after passing through the 'Nobleman' and Pollexfen collections. There has been some controversy about the identity of this nobleman, whose collection was sold at Sotheby's in November 1880. Contemporaries were aware that the collection had been formed by a Lord HASTINGS, but a suggestion that this was the second Marquess of Hastings (1808–40) must be discounted, for it had actually been made by Sir Jacob Astley, Bart., FSA (1797–1859),

who became sixteenth Baron Hastings in 1841 and was well-known for his antiquarian interests. He was listed among the leading collectors of the time by William Till in 1837.¹⁹ Although his collection contained only about 160 Scottish coins, many of them were of outstanding quality, such as the sterling of Malcolm IV and the David noble from the Martin collection, the gold 20s. piece of 1543 and the silver 40s. of 1582.

The Revd. Henry CHRISTMAS (later Noel-Fearn) lived in Clapham, Surrey. After university he was ordained in 1837 and later on was appointed Professor of British History and Archaeology in the Royal Society of Literature. He became FRS, FRGS and FSA, and was the author of numerous publications on various learned topics, which are listed in early editions of Crockford's *Clerical Directory*. A student-collector, he became a member of the Numismatic Society and served as its Secretary, but resigned during the period of drastic decline in membership in the 1850s. His contributions to the *Numismatic Chronicle* included articles on Anglo-Gallic, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Hanoverian coins, on the copper coinage of the British colonies in America, and on Irish coins of copper and bronze. When his collection was sold in February 1864, the catalogue stated that he was 'discontinuing the pursuit'. The Ashmolean copy of the sale catalogue has a manuscript note saying that Christmas has done the cataloguing, but 'has much overstated the condition of the coins, comparatively few being fine'. The collection was an extensive one of British, Anglo-Gallic, Anglo-Hanoverian, Colonial and foreign coins, including many patterns and proofs. His Scottish coins numbered about 330 and, unusually for this period, the collection was relatively weak of later reigns such as James VI, while it contained a fairly extensive series of medieval groats. Like Ferguson, he had a Dumbarton groat of Robert III, and several specimens from the rarer medieval mints. As befitted its owner, the collection appears to have been put together with a more than usual degree of scholarly attention, which perhaps explains any deficiencies of condition.

William Waring HAY NEWTON (1795–1860) of Newton Hall, Haddington, a descendant of the Marquesses of Tweeddale whose grandfather had added the surname of Newton on inheriting the estates of that family, bequeathed a considerable collection of Scottish coins and medals and other articles to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. In his sale in March 1861 there were Greek, Roman, English, Scottish and foreign coins and medals. Although Wingate described Hay Newton's Scottish collection as 'select', the quality of the coins as listed in the catalogue do not strike one as being particularly outstanding, partly no doubt because of his bequest of good material to the museum. There were about 120 Scottish coins in the sale, with a proportion of gold.

The prices realised at auction during the first half of the nineteenth century do show that interest in Scottish coins was limited, and this appears to have continued until the 1860s. Writing in 1868, James Wingate said 'For some years anterior to the Hay Newton sale, Scottish coins, as is well known, were little sought after, but at the disposal of that small but select cabinet, the prices realised were greatly in excess of the market rates of previous years'. When the prices fetched at the Hay Newton sale can be compared with those of comparable coins at the Martin sale, it can be seen that Wingate was not mistaken in saying this. The appearance of Lindsay's book must have made some impact, although this was not at once discernible: for example, in the Cuff sale in 1854 two £20 pieces of James VI went for £11 and £5 while five years later it was still possible to purchase one for as little as £6 12s. 6d. In 1875, however, a similar coin realised £35 10s. and this upward trend continued. When several collectors were competing for a limited supply of interesting coins, such as the more unusual mints of Alexander III which were very rare before the discovery of the Brussels hoard, prices

¹⁹ W. Till, *An Essay on the Roman Denarius*, 1837, p. 197; NC 1880, 340; BNJ XXXVII (1968), 38.

reached levels that were sometimes not repeated until the 1950s. Nevertheless, prices generally remained very low compared with those obtained today, even after allowing for inflation. Writing in the 1890s, Hazlitt was still able to say 'One hundred representative Scottish coins in all metals should be obtainable for £150, and such a total of specimens would comprise every denomination, there being about ninety'.²⁰ Meanwhile, however, increasing interest was beginning to place pressure on the number of coins available to collectors. Early in 1874 Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick 'I believe Scotch coins to be far rarer than is generally supposed. A few years ago some pieces were a not infrequent occurrence in sales. They are now hardly or ever seen. Some have got located in museums, and others are appropriated among a larger body of collectors. Just let the number of collectors be doubled or trebled and there will be no making up anything like a complete series of Scotch coins at any price'. The Fortrose hoard of Robert III groats was discovered soon after Burns wrote this, and in the twentieth century there have been a number of major finds that have greatly increased the availability of Scottish coins for collection and study.

Part of the pressure on the coin market in the 1870s, to which Burns was referring, must have been due to the appetite of collectors such as Cochran-Patrick himself and, more particularly, Thomas Coats, who was to become Burns's much respected patron. On the supply side, however, there were large and important sales, of museum duplicates in 1873-4 and of the Wingate collection in 1875, which between them released some two and a half thousand Scottish coins onto the market. In 1872 the Faculty of Advocates, with a view to raising money with which to finance the printing of a catalogue of their library, decided to sell their coins, not itself an unreasonable idea since, although occasionally augmented in a haphazard manner, the Sutherland collection had been virtually unused for a century and a half. The coins were valued at £783 12s. and were bought by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The purchase was completed in 1873, the price including £50 for the coin cabinet – a gross underestimate, for this remarkable piece of furniture was sold nine years later for £3,500. The Antiquaries already had a considerable coin collection; moreover, they needed to raise money to repay loans made by their Fellows for the purchase of the coins, so in 1873 and 1874, at two sales held in Edinburgh, they disposed of the 'duplicates' resulting from their recent purchase, a total of nearly 1700 Scottish coins, plus a large number of Roman, English and other coins. The Scottish Antiquaries had another disastrous sale in London in January 1899, when they sold a further 600 Scottish coins from their collection. Few of these so-called duplicates would be regarded as such today and the National Museum in Edinburgh still mourns the loss of the numerous fine coins which would now be in the Scottish national collection had these sales not taken place.

The focus of Scottish industry and commerce in the second half of the nineteenth century was on the Clyde, and the two greatest private collections of Scottish coins of that period, those of Wingate and Coats, were founded on the prosperity of this region. The collection of James WINGATE (1828-77) of Linnhouse, Hamilton, was generally regarded as the outstanding cabinet of Scottish coins of its time. John Gray's obituary notice describes him as 'a man of singularly generous impulse, and in all his dealings guided by a sense of honour almost chivalrous in its integrity'. He had carried out research in his earlier years into the fauna of the West of Scotland and had presented his collections in this field to the Andersonian Museum. His fortune, derived from his business as a marine insurance broker in Glasgow, enabled him to put together one of the finest collections of Scottish coins that has ever been formed. Among many choice and rare items were nine coins of David I, the unique early Berwick sterling of William the Lion, a St Andrews penny of John Balliol reading *I Di*

²⁰ W. C. Hazlitt, *The Coin Collector*, 1896, p. 209.

Gra and a very good run of groats, including the excessively rare early type of James IV with crowns in two angles of the reverse cross. Although it was not quite so rich in the sixteenth century, there were nevertheless, for example, a James V crown with the *Per Lignu* reading, a 1558 gold £3 piece of Mary, and a 1569 one-third ryal and two lion nobles of James VI. At the age of forty Wingate published an illustrated catalogue of his collection, which shows that he was no mean draughtsman, and many of his coins can be identified today with reasonable certainty from his drawings. But publication of the *Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland* in 1868 represented the culmination of Wingate's numismatic efforts, and a few years later – as it turned out, less than two years before his sudden death from an attack of pleurisy – he resolved to sell his coins so that they could be available for others. When Burns first heard in August 1875 that Wingate proposed to sell his collection, and in London at that, he wrote to Cochran-Patrick: 'I thought that the experience of the museum sales might have shown him that the place for disposing of a first class collection of Scotch coins was in Edinburgh. The buyers, with the exception of Mr Pollexfen (for Mr. Ford is of no account in a sale) are in Scotland, and it is quite a different thing seeing the coins for themselves, and being subjected personally to all the glamour of a sale, to sending of commissions to London dealers.' Burns suggested to Cochran-Patrick that he and Thomas Coats should try to buy the whole collection between them by private bargain but nothing came of this. In the preface to the sale catalogue Sotheby's described it as 'the most important collection [of Scottish coins] ever disposed of in this House', containing as it did 'the most valuable coins of the Scottish portion of almost all the cabinets sold, either privately or by public sale, during the last ten years'. There was much wheeling and dealing beforehand by Burns, Cochran-Patrick and Coats. In the event the sale was highly successful from the seller's point of view. The intervention of Samuel Addington, who was determined to buy the rarest pieces at any price, greatly contributed to this. Coats made numerous purchases through his agent, although Cochran-Patrick secured relatively little. The collection included some 850 Scottish coins, and together with Wingate's ancient coins and numismatic books, it fetched a total of £3263. The catalogue itself had no illustrations, but there are references throughout to the plates of Wingate's book.

Although BURNS had sold his own collection, including a decent general British series and some notable Scottish pieces, at Sotheby's in December 1869, his theory that Edinburgh was the best place to sell Scottish coins may well have been true at the time he was writing, at least for those collectors who had only Scottish coins to sell. Some useful collections of Scottish coins were in fact sold in Edinburgh in the 1880s, and it looks as if Burns may himself have had a hand in this, since he was responsible for the cataloguing of several of them. Two of these, in March 1883 and November 1884, were of coins belonging to George WAKEFORD of Maidstone, part of whose collection had already been sold through Sotheby's in 1875 and 1879. In the Revd. G.F. Crowther's copy of the 1884 catalogue is a revealing manuscript note: 'Mr. Wakeford is a marine store dealer. In looking through lots at Sotheby's he was detected substituting an inferior specimen, & forbidden the room. For this reason his coins were not sold in London.' The catalogue refers to him as a 'Collector of many years' standing, now retiring from the pursuit', although he did not resign from the Numismatic Society, which he had joined in 1875, until 1901.²¹ The collection was very rich in the English milled series, but there were some important pieces among the 136 Scottish lots, such as an Aberdeen groat of David II with the intermediate head, a two-merks of 1579 and a 30s. piece of 1584.

Along with Wakeford's coins in March 1883 were sold the first collection of Sheriff

²¹ D. J. Rampling, 'Edward Burns and the Forty-Shilling Piece of James VI', *NCirc.* April 1996, 85–6, publishes two letters from Burns to Wakeford (19 Dec. 1883 and 27 Jan.

1884) about Wakeford's interest in acquiring a 40s. piece from A. B. Richardson, which suggests that he had not entirely given up collecting at that point.

Mackenzie and some coins belonging to Robert CARFRAE, of Montrave Villa, Murrayfield. The latter, of the firm of Bonnar and Carfrae, decorators, of 77 George Street, Edinburgh, was for many years a collector of pictures and antiquities, a prominent figure in the Society of Antiquaries, and curator of its museum.²² A letter of Burns to Cochran-Patrick dated 15 May 1874, in connection with the second of the Antiquaries sales, describes how George Sim, the Curator of Coins, had dealt with sorting out the Roman coins to be sold, with all the rest falling to Burns, and with Carfrae acting as general referee. Carfrae seems to have disposed of some of his best Scottish coins to Coats prior to the sale of 1883, for example his David II noble and the 1580 two-merk piece which Burns described as the only one known to him. Carfrae must either have retained some of his Scottish coins, or have begun collecting again, since after his death in September 1900, at the age of 81, his coins were sold at Sotheby's in July 1901 and included 76 lots of gold and silver coins from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Another collector who disposed of Scottish coins privately during his lifetime, and whose name is featured in Burns's work, was William TAAP, of 2 Teviot Road, Edinburgh. In November 1874 he wrote to Cochran-Patrick 'some time ago I parted with a number of my rarest coins and my collection (never a large one) is now not so much worth notice. Still it is possible that there may be some remaining that you might like to see & which it will give me much pleasure in shewing to you at any time that may be convenient for you when in Town.' The coins that Taap still had at the time of his death were sold at Chapman's in October 1884. Although some of them were not in good condition, he still had some considerable rarities, such as a Robert II groat with saltire behind the head, a James III portrait groat with star stops and a 40s. piece of 1699.

An exceptional approach to coin collecting, apparently adopted by certain collectors in Fife, was noted by Burns in a letter to Cochran-Patrick on 5 November 1874. After viewing a collection of Scottish coins being offered for sale he wrote: 'Noel Paton's coins, as I informed Chapman's managing clerk, are without exception the most execrable collection ever brought to public sale. The Fife people seem to think that the poorer condition in which they can get their coins, the more likely they are to be genuine. The late Rev. Mr. Muir of Dysart, as I was informed on Monday, in Lyon and Turnbull's Saleroom, collected on this principle. Lornie has long been notorious for the rubbish he palms off upon anybody that he can get to take them. And the late Mr. Noel Paton's collection, as if to prove the rule, contains hardly a coin of even respectable quality, except what is false – and there are various false coins of which no intimation of their being such is made in the catalogue.' The Lornie mentioned by Burns was John Guthrie LORNIE, a J.P. who lived in Kirkcaldy and was a director of the Fife Linoleum and Floorcloth Company. He did have some rare coins and several of them are referred to by Burns, such as a Dundee halfpenny of Robert II; but he was not a man for whom Burns had much regard. On one occasion, after Cochran-Patrick had written to Burns expressing an interest in a David I sterling belonging to Lornie, Burns remarked disparagingly: 'I have no doubt Lornie will dispose of his David, but he will sell nothing to me. He is so greedy, and I may add so ignorant, that if I offered him £5 for the David (which it is worth) he would think it worth £10. And as he will not name a price himself, no business passes between us.' The residue of Lornie's coin collection was sold at Sotheby's in November 1917, and the catalogue appears to confirm Burns's strictures. The Scottish coins were few in number: of eight gold coins three were forgeries, and the silver coins were clearly a lot of junk.

The years between the appearance of Lindsay's *View* in 1845 and Burns's monumental *Coinage of Scotland* in 1887 were the most fruitful period in the history of Scottish

²² Percy Webb's copy of Carfrae's Greek sale (Sotheby, 23–5 May, 1894) gives the name of the firm then as Moxon and

Carfrae. The collection was stated to have been formed during the past thirty-five years, i.e. from 1859.

numismatics. Many collectors who did not write on the subject themselves nevertheless contributed to the process in discussion and correspondence, or by notifying new varieties to others. Lindsay's book stimulated interest in the series, and supplements followed in 1859 and 1868 as collectors notified the author of new types and varieties, Burns being among those thanked by Lindsay in his preface to the second supplement for supplying numerous notices of unpublished Scottish coins and tokens. Cochran-Patrick's publication of the documentary evidence appeared in 1876, providing for Scottish coinage the equivalent of what Ruding had done for the English coinage earlier in the century. This paved the way for Burns to work on his great project during the next ten years. Although his book was based on the collection of Thomas Coats, extensively supplemented by that of the Antiquaries, Burns made great efforts to include reference to relevant material in other private collections, and the extent to which he did so is a measure of the keenness of their owners to communicate information about rare coins or new varieties in their possession.

Thomas COATS (1809–83) of Ferguslie House, Renfrewshire, and his brother, Sir Peter (1808–90), were thread manufacturers at Paisley, of the firm which was known more recently as Coats, Patons and Baldwins. Thomas Coats had been a keen buyer at the important sales, and by 1875, when Burns first saw his collection, it was already one of considerable strength. Burns was invited to stay at Ferguslie during the summer of 1875 to catalogue the collection, which was to be greatly improved a few months later by extensive purchases at the Wingate sale. In the following year Burns made a selection of Coats's Scottish coins, tokens and medals for exhibition at the meeting of the British Association, held in Glasgow in September 1876, for which a special printed catalogue was prepared. When Coats died his collection remained in the possession of the family until 1921, when his son, Sir Thomas Glen-Coats, Bart., presented it to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh.²³ This great collection consisted of 1990 coins, of which 245 were gold, and it was a proviso of the gift that it should be kept together in all time coming as a separate entity and be accessible to students. Burns had a high regard for Thomas Coats, in whom he found an admirable patron for his work on Scottish coinage. His book contains a touching tribute to the man whose collection and encouragement had made the work possible. But Burns did not get on with John Gray, who acted as Coats's agent until his death early in 1879. For some reason (perhaps involving professional jealousy), Gray took a strong dislike to Burns and treated him with great discourtesy. For this and other reasons the feeling of dislike was reciprocated.

Several of the general British collections sold in the 1880s included a reasonable representation of Scottish coins. For example, that of John L. HENDERSON, FSA Scot, of Kelvinside, Glasgow, sold by Sotheby in June 1888, included forty lots of Scottish coins, among them a James IV unicorn with Roman letters. More important were the collections of J.K. Ford and the Hon. Robert Marsham. John Kermack FORD of Southsea (d. 1884) was one of the leading collectors of Scottish coins who resided outside Scotland. He joined the Numismatic Society in 1877, but contributed nothing to the *Chronicle*. Burns had a high opinion of Ford, describing him 'as a gentleman of great numismatic sagacity'. Some of Ford's coins had been sold by Dowell of Edinburgh in March 1868, but his final collection was sold by Sotheby in June 1884. It was a very extensive one of Greek, Roman, British and foreign coins and medals, as well as a large number of war medals. Despite Burns having said that Ford was of no account in a sale, he had obtained coins from many important collections and his Scottish portion comprised nearly five hundred coins. An unusual feature was the presence of no less than five specimens of the rare Edinburgh half-crown of 1709. There were

²³ For the Coats family see Burke's *Peerage*, Coats Bt. and Baron Glentanar. According to Burns, Thomas Coats 'left far above a million of money' (*NCirc* 1996, 85).

no copper coins, and very few of billon, but there were some notable pieces among the silver and gold. Ford had a Robert II penny of Perth with B behind the head, a James V crown with annulet stops, and the unique 2s. piece of 1581, destined for the Coats collection, for which the French dealer Rollin and Feuarent paid £55 10s. From a letter Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick in April 1884 we learn that Burns catalogued the Scottish coins in this sale.

The Hon. Robert MARSHAM (1834–1914) was the son of the second Earl of Romney by his second wife; in 1893 he assumed the additional name and arms of Townshend. After a few years in the Diplomatic Service he served for ten years in the Kent Militia Artillery. He became Deputy-Lieutenant and JP for Kent, and also a London JP. He had a variety of antiquarian and other interests and was a fellow of several learned societies. He sold his large collection in November 1888, having lost interest in the subject. It consisted mainly of British coins, including Anglo-Saxon, from numerous important collections, which he had purchased over a period of some twenty-five years. He had more than two hundred Scottish coins, with a good selection of types and varieties. Among them were a gold £3 piece of 1558, and the very rare silver half-testoon of 1559. Marsham's gold £20 piece of 1575 fetched £62, the highest price for such a coin in the nineteenth century. It was bought by Adam Black RICHARDSON, grandson of Adam Black, the founder of the publishing firm, who lived at 16 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, and was described by Burns as 'a gentleman of independent fortune'. He became the Curator of Coins in Edinburgh in 1888, and published a catalogue of the Scottish coins in the National Museum in 1901. Richardson was also a major collector in his own right. There were no Scottish coins in his sale in 1895, but although we have no direct record of Richardson's Scottish collection, it can to some extent be reconstructed by two different means. Annotated copies of sale catalogues of the period show Richardson bidding in his own name, often for coins in outstanding condition: thus from Marsham he bought gold and silver coins from Robert III to Charles I, including the £20 piece of 1575 for £62, and from Wakeford various items of specialist interest, not all of them in the best state, such as an Alexander III farthing for £5 15s. ('well preserved') and a James V groat with mint-mark lis for 18s. ('good state'). Further clues are to be had from pedigrees listed in the sale catalogues of twentieth-century collections. For example, several coins of Lockett's are stated to have been from the Wingate, Addington, Richardson and Murdoch collections, and often thereafter from Bearman, who was assiduous in recording pedigrees on the reverse of his tickets. Although the Murdoch catalogue never refers to the Richardson collection as a provenance, it is clear that this was the source of many of Murdoch's best coins and it looks as if he may have acquired all or almost all of Richardson's Scottish coins by private treaty, perhaps at about the same time as the other coins were sold by auction in 1895. Richardson in turn appears to have acquired Samuel Addington's Scottish coins privately, since in his sale of 1886 there was not a single one. Addington had sold most of his English coins to Hyman Montagu in 1883, but Montagu did not collect Scottish coins before 1603. By the 1870s ADDINGTON, a cloth merchant in St Martin's Lane, had become a ferocious buyer of Scottish and other coins. Burns refers to him as the Leviathan. But he was not well informed, and the London dealers would run him up to unrealistic figures for the most desirable pieces once it was clear that he was determined to buy them at almost any price. The consequences of this can be seen in the Wingate sale of 1875, where he bought 43 out of the 379 Scottish lots for more than half the price of the whole sale. He paid more than £200 each for the two-thirds and one-third lion nobles of James VI, coins which were to make respectively £40 and £100 at Murdoch's sale in 1903.

Although Richardson clearly took a serious interest in his coins, the two outstanding students of the Scottish series among collectors in the time of Burns were Cochran-Patrick and Pollexfen. Robert William COCHRAN-PATRICK of Woodside (1842–97), although the youngest of the group, was also the most distinguished scholar. His interest in Scottish coins and medals appears to have begun when he was in his twenties, and for many years he was an

indefatigable collector. He had the good fortune to have Edward Burns as his mentor about what to buy and how much to pay. The large number of surviving letters from Burns in the 1870s contain a stream of information and advice and testify to the fact that the two men were on excellent terms. He bought regularly at the main sales, including those of the Antiquaries in 1873 and 1874, Howard, Wingate, Ford and many others, and from dealers in London such as William Webster, W.S. Lincoln and Son, and J.J. Jessop. He also bought coins privately from Mackenzie and other collectors and he obtained a substantial number of coins from the Wigan collection which had been bought by Rollin & Feuardent in 1872. This was one of the most important nineteenth-century collections, chiefly put together in the 1830s and 1840s by John Alfred WIGAN (d. 1869) of Clare House, near Maidstone, and sold after the death of E.W. Wigan in 1871.²⁴ Cochran-Patrick's collection of Scottish coins was kept by the family until 1936, when it was decided to sell the coins to pay for his great-grandson's education. The collection as then sold consisted of 945 coins of which 103 were gold. Although only half the size of Pollexfen's, Cochran-Patrick's collection was an exceptionally thorough and well balanced one, and the catalogue was prepared with great care and attention to detail. He had thirty coins of David I, a very good run of medieval groats with the rare provincial mints well represented, and among individual items of note were the Malcolm IV portrait penny (stated, enigmatically, to be from the Largs collection, 1884), a billon halfpenny of James I, a silver penny of James IV and Wigan's (ex Ferguson) one-merk piece of 1580. Cochran-Patrick's Scottish medals were sold in two sales in 1949 and 1957, the second of these being anonymous and including a number of further coins which on grounds of condition or duplication had not been included in the main collection.

Cochran-Patrick was a person of remarkable energy. He corresponded not only with Burns, but with many of the other leading collectors and antiquaries of the day. Over a period of years he was actively gathering material for his *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* (1876), *Mining in Scotland* (1878) and *Medals of Scotland* (1884) and this involved a large correspondence with officials in the British Museum, the Scottish Record Office and elsewhere. The actual transcription of historical documents was done on his behalf. He also found time to write numerous articles for the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the *Glasgow Herald*. Some of his papers were on archaeological subjects, and he was one of the founders of the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association in 1874. He became a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1876, and a member of the Numismatic Society of London in the following year. He was Conservative MP for North Ayrshire from 1880 to 1885, and later (1887–92) became Permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland.

The collection formed by the Revd. John Hutton POLLEXFEN (1818–99) and sold by Sotheby in June 1900 contained one of the largest and most thorough collections of Scottish coins formed in the nineteenth century. Pollexfen took a degree as Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh University, but later studied theology and was ordained in 1844. From 1851 he was rector of St Runwald, Colchester, moving to Yorkshire in 1870 where he became vicar first of East Witton, Bedale, and then from 1874 until his death of Middleton Tyas, Richmond.²⁵ Burns knew him well and held him in high esteem. In the Glasgow Exhibition *Catalogue* of 1876, Burns describes Pollexfen as 'A ripe and accomplished numismatist, who has long made Scottish coins the subject of loving study'. He was greatly handicapped by very poor sight in his right eye. In 1877 it looked as if he would have to sell his entire collection. He wrote to Cochran-Patrick: 'My time is so fully occupied that I am unable to open a book on

²⁴ The Wigan baronetcy was conferred on J. A. W.'s son Frederick in 1898.

²⁵ Obit. *NC* 1899, *Proceedings*, 27–8.

Numismatics, & I have been so plundered by an unprincipled builder who has dragged me into the Law Courts, that I intend to take the earliest opportunity in my power of disposing of my collection'. He was anxious to sell the collection as a whole, preferably to someone like Cochran-Patrick: 'There is no one to whom I would rather that my coins sh^d pass than yourself, for I know you would fully appreciate them'. The case was settled out of court, however, and the danger of having to sell his coins was evidently somehow averted. Not long after, in the Nobleman sale of 1880, we find him paying high prices for a two-thirds bonnet piece 1540 (ex Cuff) and a Mary testoon 1553 that had come from Pembroke and Addison.

Pollexfen had joined the Numismatic Society in 1861 and served on its Council; in 1881 he also became FSA. He contributed various articles to the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, including a very important report in 1865 on the Bute find of coins of David I. His collection when sold contained Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, English and other coins, as well as over 1350 Scottish coins, of which 97 were gold. The collection began with eighteen coins of David I, examples of Earl Henry and Malcolm IV, and then a very thorough representation of the pennies and groats of the following centuries, including many of the rare mints (he had three of Dumbarton), and some outstanding rarities among the gold, such as a left-facing rider of James III and a gold crown of James IV. His coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also very comprehensive, including, unusually at that time, a very large quantity of placks, bawbees and other minor coins. The Pollexfen sale took place as Richardson was preparing his catalogue of Scottish coins in the National Museum, and a further sale in June 1899 of duplicates thrown up by this process put the museum in funds to acquire 270 coins from the Pollexfen collection which were added to the catalogue in an appendix just before it went to press.

Altogether less favourably regarded by Burns was Thomas MACKENZIE (1831–1916).²⁶ Born in Inverness and educated in Aberdeen, in 1859 he became Sheriff Substitute and Commissary Depute of Sutherland at Dornoch and in 1870 Sheriff Substitute of Ross Cromarty and Sutherland. When he retired in 1912 he was the oldest serving sheriff. His career as a numismatist was a somewhat chequered one. He probably started collecting Scottish coins at a comparatively early age, but in 1872, he began to consider getting rid of them. However, he took no immediate action and was still buying enthusiastically early in 1874, when on a visit to Fife in January he acquired fifteen pennies of David II's first coinage from the Kinghorn hoard found in 1864. A few months later he again decided to disperse his Scottish collection, and concentrate on English medieval pennies. In June he wrote to Cochran-Patrick:

I have resolved for various reasons to break up and disperse my Cabinet of Scottish coins ... It is not my intention, at first, to make out a priced list ... but to invite applicants to write for any particular coins they may wish, and if I have it & can supply it without breaking up a 'set' or injuring a series, I will then quote my price.

You have already, I think, a note of most of my rarities, and therefore are in a better position than Mr. Wingate or Mr. Pollexfen to whom I have written in terms similar to these now used to you ...

It has been with rather a 'wrench' that I have come to the resolution I have intimated, but the impossibility for me living in this out of the way place, of adding to my collection except by purchasing at the enormous prices now asked & obtained at Public sales, has disheartened me.

In July 1874 Mackenzie wrote again, sending a list of a hundred coins to Cochran-Patrick: 'I have had numerous applications for lists of what I have to sell ... I propose however to catalogue my cabinet by degrees, or by instalments of say a hundred coins.'

²⁶ *NCirc* July–Aug. 1916, col. 403–4. W. B. Ferguson, 'The Involvement of Sheriff Mackenzie of Tain with the Coinage of Scotland by Edward Burns', *NCirc* October 1995, 304–5.

reproduces a letter in Mackenzie's spiky hand and part of one from Burns.

Burns strongly disapproved of Mackenzie's methods of buying and selling coins and wrote 'The Sheriff loses a great deal more than he gains by his close dealing'. Lincoln had told Burns that Mackenzie was 'quite wild against' him because he thought Burns had been marking up Lincoln's prices on coins he wanted. But now he was a seller, and not by orthodox means. After selling a number of his coins to other collectors he put a brief advertisement in *The Scotsman* in January 1875, offering 'ancient Scottish' coins for sale. Burns wrote to Cochran-Patrick: 'I observed Mr. Mackenzie's advertisement in the Scotsman. He would have done far better had he sent all his coins in to me for me to price them, instead of adopting the paltry expedient of getting one collector to bid up against another. Everybody who has anything to sell should know what to ask for, or get someone who does know to tell him.' An unsuccessful attempt by Mackenzie at this time to avoid the consequences after making a bad bargain is revealed in another letter from Burns. From this it appears that the Sheriff sold an Alexander II penny to Pollexfen as genuine after being personally told by Burns that it was false. 'Mr. Pollexfen gave him £5 for it,' Burns wrote indignantly, 'which he will have the pleasure of handing back again.'

In 1879 Mackenzie informed Cochran-Patrick that his collection was 'now thoroughly broken up, but from the notes and rubbings I have kept, my interest in the Scottish coinage will be kept awake for a long time yet I hope'. The sale in Edinburgh in March 1883 presumably contained the balance of his collection, which was by no means negligible, since there were still many hundreds of coins, among them two 40s. pieces of 1582. Not long afterwards, however, perhaps after the death of Burns when Mackenzie may have felt that his influence on coin prices was at an end, he again started to collect Scottish coins. This second collection included a large number of groats from the Fortrose hoard (on which he published an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1884). Mackenzie was an FSA Scot and later became one of the early members of the British Numismatic Society. The collection sold five years after his death by Sotheby's in 1921 was a highly important one, of over 1500 coins, although the catalogue, which lacks illustrations, does not do it justice. It contained a large number of rarities such as the Dundee half-groat and halfpenny of Robert II, a two-merk piece of 1578, a 4s. piece of 1581, a 30d. piece of 1596 and a half-merk of 1668.

The last of the grand collections of the nineteenth century was that of John Gloag MURDOCH (1830–1902), of Camden Square, London, who had stood as Liberal candidate for East Renfrewshire in the General Election of 1892. Born in Perthshire, Murdoch spent his early years as a cotton printer, but then moved to Collins & Co. in Glasgow where he greatly expanded their business in publishing family bibles. In London from 1871, he began to publish on his own account, moving into colour prints, musical boxes and thence into pianos and organs. Despite the growth of his companies and his expanding fortune, Murdoch was described as 'a lovable man' combining 'rare business qualities' with a 'mind of a lofty religious character', and 'in him was to be seen none of the bluster and overbearing character usually associated with a successful business career'. Murdoch's collection reflects the ability of a rich man of good taste to assemble a large group of coins and medals in the finest state of preservation and at the same time to include many of the great rarities. His English coins were fairly described in the catalogue as second only to Montagu's. Although he was elected to the Numismatic Society in 1885, he does not appear to have left any sort of mark as a numismatist other than as a collector. There were two Murdoch sales containing Scottish coins – in May 1903 and December 1904 – with a total of about 680 coins, including a high proportion of gold (175). Apart from the coins from Wingate, Addington and Richardson, he purchased at all the best-known sales during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, his acquisitions from Pollexfen showing that he was still an avid collector at the end of his life. The catalogue of the first Scottish sale is particularly valuable on account of the numerous excellent illustrations, but none of the Scottish coins were illustrated nor were any pedigrees recorded in the catalogue of the second sale, which was of less importance. Murdoch had a great number

of outstanding coins, but perhaps particular mention might be made of his sterlings of Earl Henry and Malcolm IV from Pollexfen, a Robert I farthing, halfpennies of David II, a James II half-crown, a Roman-lettered groat of James IV and the second known example of the 1587 two-thirds lion noble, all from Wingate, Addington and Richardson, and the most expensive item of all, the David II noble from Martin, Hastings, Addington and Richardson, which Rollin bought for £169.

Much more information is available about collectors since the turn of the century, a period during which numismatics has become a more widespread pursuit and the pattern of collecting has changed. But although it is too early to write a full account of Scottish coin collecting and collectors in the last hundred years, something may be said here about the more important collections and those that have contained pieces of ancient pedigree. In that connection the Cochran-Patrick (1936), Bute (1951) and Bridgewater (1972) sales were significant in bringing onto the market coins which had not been available to others for many years. A number of hoards have also contributed to the material of certain periods available to collectors, notably Prestwich 1972 (David I), Colchester 1903 (short-cross sterlings), Brussels 1908 and Colchester 1969 (Alexander III, long voided cross sterlings), Middridge 1973 (Alexander III, single cross), Mauchline and Innerwick 1979 (fifteenth century groats), Linlithgow 1963 (placks of James IV and V) and Rigghead 1963 (bawbees of James V and Mary). In the last twenty-five years a few rare individual pieces have been found by metal detector, but not enough to make a material difference to private collections as they have done in England.

In marked contrast to the second half of the nineteenth century, the first half of the twentieth was a period of subdued interest in Scottish coins, with few serious collectors or students, particularly in Scotland itself. Sales of choice general collections still occurred, and among collectors who seem to have taken some care with their Scottish series were Mann (1917), Roth (1918), Huth (1927), Drabble (1939-40), Gantz (1941) and Ryan (1950, 1952). On a much larger scale were the vast general collection of the fifth Lord Grantley (1943-4) and the major sale of the century for British coins, that of R.C. Lockett (1957 and 1960).

Alexander Mann, Bernard Roth and Reginald Huth were all from the London area and put together collections of a kind familiar to the scene a generation or two earlier. MANN had some notable genuine coins, including in gold a James II halfcrown and a 30s. piece of 1558, but he also had some forgeries of spectacular items, one of a David II noble, bought by his father in Glasgow before 1892, the other a cast copy of the British Museum's 1565 portrait ryal of Mary and Henry, from the Wakley collection, which is listed and illustrated as genuine. ROTH, who wrote on Celtic coinage and Scandinavian imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins, specialised as a collector in the Norman series, among which he had a Carlisle coin of David I in Stephen's name by the extremely rare moneyer Wilealme, from the Rashleigh collection and the 1818 Watford hoard. We are told that he was 'guided more by the inclination to acquire rare coins in the finest condition, than to form a collection remarkable for its size and completeness, as were the Montagu and Murdoch cabinets'. This is certainly true of his Scottish series, which is of uniformly high quality, with a number of fine pieces from Carfrae and Murdoch, especially in gold. HUTH also had many coins from Murdoch, including £3 pieces of both 1557 and 1558. To judge from the plates, his catalogue was justified in saying that he too had always been 'extremely particular as to the condition of his purchases'.

Gilbert DRABBLE, an accomplished lawn tennis player and an admirer of dogs (he also put together a collection of coins on which dogs were portrayed), lived in the Isle of Wight. His fortune derived from the Argentine, and he was a regular buyer in the twenties and thirties. His sales contained many good coins, but he was more of an enthusiast than a student. His Scottish portion is notable for having a good selection of Alexander sterlings from the Brussels hoard, bought from A.H. Baldwin, who had evolved his own arrangement of the coinage in the light of the new material from the hoard; the Drabble catalogues therefore for some years provided

the only printed presentation of the Baldwin classification of the Scottish long-cross coinage which Burns, through shortage of material, had failed to master. W.L. GANTZ, an Essex vicar, assembled a large collection, including ancient and foreign coins, with a miscellaneous group of Scottish, of which the most remarkable coin was a half-unicorn of James V. Despite his cloth, Gantz had something of a reputation as a part-time dealer. V.J.E. RYAN, an Irishman of independent means, was one of the backers of H.A. Seaby when he left Spinks to set up his own business in 1926. He had a particular interest in Anglo-Saxon and Civil War coinage, but he had notable pieces in many series, his modest and rather patchy Scottish section containing two important early sterlings of David I, and one or two rare coins from Grantley such as a fine Alexander II and a two-merks of 1579. But his collection is more remarkable for having had Scott Plummer's one-third lion noble, a denomination of the highest rarity that escaped the net of all the more serious Scottish collectors of his time.

Lord GRANTLEY combined an adventurous personal life with a serious interest in medieval coinage.²⁷ He published various papers on Anglo-Saxon coins but his tickets demonstrate a student's knowledge of many series, British and continental. The Scottish element consisted of several hundred coins out of more than fifty thousand in all, sold during the war in a series of eleven sales in 1943–5. Lockett took the opportunity of expanding his already massive collection from Grantley, but there were few buyers at this time, and much of the sale went into dealers' stocks. Many of Grantley's coins were only in moderate condition, but some were very rare, such as those acquired by Ryan. LOCKETT himself, aptly described by Blunt as 'the Maecenas of English collectors', was a member of the well-known family of Liverpool shippers and merchants, but did not participate in the business.²⁸ His English collection ranked with Montagu's, and his Scottish with those of Wingate, Coats and Murdoch, in combining quality, size and scope. The collection was built up in the twenties and thirties, largely by A.H. and later A.H.F. Baldwin, and the nucleus of the Scottish part came from the collection of Thomas Bearman which Baldwins had bought in 1922. Many important pieces were obtained from the Cochran-Patrick, Dakers and other sales, and another large element was a complete run of the more than three hundred varieties of the long voided-cross sterlings of Alexander III identified by A.H. Baldwin, whose firm had bought the British portion of the enormous Brussels hoard intact. Lockett's collection was so full of rarities that they are too numerous to mention, although his quarter-bawbee of James V was previously unknown and his four-merk piece of 1665, from Bearman and Pollexfen, remains unique. One might conversely note some of the coins he lacked. Major items like the David noble, the ducat of Francis and Mary, or the Henry and Mary portrait ryal of 1565, were not available, but otherwise there were few gaps – for example, a Berwick sterling of Alexander II, a gold crown or Roman-lettered groat of James IV, a one-third ryal of 1569, a one-third lion noble or a half-merk of 1667. The only material lacuna is the post-Brussels long-cross coinage of Alexander III, since A.H. Baldwin presumably thought that the Brussels hoard material covered the whole series, not noticing varieties from a later phase as recorded by Burns.

Several collectors in the first half of the century took a more scholarly interest in their Scottish coins, being more concerned (like Grantley) with their interest to a student than with condition. E. Richmond PATON, of Hareshaw Muir, by Kilmarnock, was an active collector of medieval groats between the wars, and he also had some fine gold coins. He published notes on two of these in 1937, one being the unique late James V crown (S. fig. 302); this later belonged to Hird, and it seems possible that the whole collection was disposed of privately.

²⁷ Obit. *BNJ* XXIV (1941–4), 127–8; on Grantley and his collection see C. E. Blunt, 'Personal Reminiscences of Some Distinguished Numismatists of a Previous Generation', *BNJ* XLVI (1977), 64–74 (see this also for Walters, Lockett and

others), and P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, I, pp. 395–7.

²⁸ Obit. *BNJ* XXVI (1952), 224–5.

Another pre-war collection of which the destiny is not recorded was that of Miss J.C.C. MACDONALD, of Windmill House, Arbroath, and 47 Seymour Street, Portman Square, who specialized in Scottish gold in the 1920s. A more serious and better known collector of the time was F.A. WALTERS, architect of Buckfast Abbey, who wrote important papers on English coins of the fifteenth century. He did not write on Scottish coins, but he assembled a strong series, especially of the later middle ages. His second sale (1932) contained many good groats, among them several of Robert III of the rare mint of Aberdeen, probably a group from the Fortrose find. The most remarkable Scottish item in his sale, however, was an Edinburgh halfpenny of David II described as 'false, beautifully made', but except that it is unique there is no obvious reason to question its authenticity. Many of Walters' medieval coins have the appearance of having been harshly cleaned; he would dip them in dilute ammonia and then leave them on his window-sill to weather. Dr A.N. BRUSHFIELD sold his Scottish and Irish coins, of which he had a specialist's knowledge, in order to concentrate on colonial. Among many interesting pieces, they included a David I sterling with the moneyer's name Mainard which enabled St Andrews to be identified as a mint in this reign, and a heavy halfgroat of James IV. One of the buyers of Brushfield's Scottish was Lieut. W.S. MARSHALL, The Scots Guards, a promising student who was killed in the war. From the proceeds of his sale (1946) a fund was set up to provide numismatic books for schools.

Another casualty of the war was Captain C.H. DAKERS who, with his father H.J. DAKERS, a schoolmaster in St Albans but son of an Episcopalian minister in Hawick, had built up a highly important collection of Scottish coins in the 1930s.²⁹ Both made valuable contributions to the subject in print, and the death of C.H. Dakers removed from the scene the most acute student of the Scottish medieval series since the nineteenth century. The Dakers sale in 1946 lacked some of the more expensive gold items, but its Scottish silver was outstanding for the thoroughness of its coverage, particularly in the medieval period. Unfortunately, the sale catalogue is one of the most disastrous of the present century, with minimal descriptions and numbers of carefully selected varieties bundled together time and again as 'a similar lot'. A few individual coins with pedigrees, from Cochran-Patrick or Murdoch or others, can still be identified, but otherwise there is only the evidence of subsequent collections, from Lockett onwards, in which the Dakers provenance was preserved.

As the century has progressed, there has been an increasing tendency towards specialisation, both in study and in collecting. Sometimes, as in the case of H.A. PARSONS, a prolific writer on Anglo-Saxon and other coins, such specialisation occurred within the context of a general collection. Financial pressures caused Parsons to sell his first collection in 1929, but he more than recovered this in later years and the collection sold in 1954 was a substantial one, with important material throughout the British and Colonial series. As something of a *marchand amateur*, Parsons had a large number of coins through his hands, and those he retained included many fine and rare pieces. He made a speciality of the Scottish milled series, publishing an important paper on it in this *Journal* in 1928. The 1929 sale, which only covered the period post-1603, included an exceptional run of rare dates in the Scottish coinages of Charles II and William II, most of which had been reassembled in 1954. But the later sale also covered the pre-Union Scottish coinage. It was notable for many rare and important medieval and renaissance coins, such as a Carlisle penny of David I, a first coinage sterling of William the Lion, a second issue plack of James III, a *Salvum Fac* billon penny of James IV and a 1566 one-third ryal (? the Dakers specimen). Oddly, although Parsons had good English gold coins, he had none of Scotland.

Two collectors between the wars specialised in crown-sized coins. Captain H.E.G. PAGET,

²⁹ Obit. *BNJ* XXIV (1941-4), 211.

of the Indian Army, had a collection of crowns generally in exceptional condition. The catalogue (1946) shows that he had some outstanding Scottish coins, including a four-merk piece of 1664 with the thistle below the bust, and that he collected die varieties, noting the number of strings in the Irish harp on milled coins. H.M. LINGFORD, a Quaker from Bishop Auckland, whose fortune came from Lingford's Baking Powder, also specialised in crowns, but in coins of James VI and I as well. He was collecting most actively in the thirties but continued until his suicide in 1950. Many of his coins of James VI came from Dakers, such as his one-third ryal of 1568, and he had a comprehensive series of this reign, with some outstanding individual pieces, for example a superb £4 piece of 1580 from the Atholl and Hamilton collections. At the other end of the scale was the collection of F.W. LONGBOTTOM (1934), who in order to limit cost concentrated on medieval halfpennies and farthings. His Scottish section included the unique James III billon halfpenny, which later appeared in the Napier sale (1956). D.S. NAPIER, of Edinburgh, a relatively rare case at this period of a Scotsman systematically collecting Scottish coins in Scotland, had some significant medieval coins, starting with a crescent sterling of David I and a cut halfpenny of William I of the mint of 'Dun'. Another was Mrs M. DUNCAN, 312 Holburn Street, Aberdeen, whose collection was sold anonymously by Glendining on 5 July 1972 (lots 254–332), containing a number of interesting pieces, such as an example of the extremely rare David II groat of Aberdeen with the intermediate head.

Large general collections have rather gone out of fashion in the second half of this century, partly because of cost, partly also because more intensive numismatic study has encouraged collecting by the student rather than the connoisseur. The most important sales since Lockett have been Hird (1974), Fay (1976), Murray (1987), Strauss (1994), Beresford-Jones (1995) and 'Douglas' (1997). Alderman Horace HIRD, an industrial chimneysweep in Bradford, presented a magnificent collection of Scottish coins, the gold outstanding, to the Ashmolean Museum in 1953. But he subsequently put together another very good series of Scottish gold which was sold in 1974. This was soon followed by the so-called 'Dundee' sale in Los Angeles in 1976 of the collection formed by Sheldon P. FAY. The collection was very strong in the reign of Mary, with several gold £3 pieces, including both 1557 and 1558, and a large run of testoons. But the sale did not include Fay's gold ducat of Francis and Mary; this appeared for the first time in the saleroom in the 'DOUGLAS' collection, which also contained a number of other major rarities, chiefly in gold, such as the Bute *Salvum Fac* half-unicorn and a six-pound piece of Charles I by Falconer.³⁰ The Hird and Fay sales realised exceptionally high prices for Scottish gold, driven up by speculative purchases in a period of high inflation, as coins became popular with investors as well as collectors. Many of their gold coins reappeared (at lower prices) in later sales, notably that of Ronald STRAUSS,³¹ founding partner of the stockbrokers Strauss Turnbull, and a small but choice group, sold anonymously by Spink in November 1991, belonging to Dudley BUTTERFIELD of the Bermuda banking family. Both these collections contained Scottish coins in gold only, continuing an approach that had earlier been followed by Capt. R.D. WILLS (1938), of the Bristol tobacco family, a collection formed for him by Spinks, and then by E. WERTHEIMER (1945), who had a few unremarkable Scottish in an international gold collection which he had compiled over the previous twenty years. Dr R.D. BERESFORD-JONES, author of a book on Anglo-Gallic coins, also had a fine collection of gold, with an important Scottish section containing a number of rare items that had not been on the market for many years, from sales such as Bute and Lingford.³² Two other

³⁰ Spink sale 119, 4 March 1997. The ducat fetched £70,000 (before buyer's premium), easily a record price for a Scottish coin.

³¹ Sotheby, 26 May 1994.

³² Spink sale 108, 7 March 1995.

collections with gold only were sold anonymously by Glendining, on 7 July 1948 and on 3 October 1963. The latter had belonged to M.W. Hall, and his Scottish series was no more than an adjunct to an English collection. But in the 1948 sale was a small but choice group, evidently selected with discrimination, including a 30s. piece of 1555, a £20 piece of 1576 and a very fine ducat of 1580 from the Virgil M. Brand collection.

By far the most scholarly Scottish collection in the saleroom in recent years was that of J.K.R. MURRAY, sold by Spink in 1986, which was rich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the focus of Murray's published work on Scottish coins.³³ In one respect the collection was most unusual since, apart from three gold coins, Col. Murray had nothing from the fifteenth century, leaving the coins of James I-IV to the attention of Mrs Murray. The catalogue is important as a work of reference since the plates include a large number of varieties that have not otherwise been illustrated and the text incorporates many of his notes and comments, often the result of original research.

The number of sales including Scottish coins in the last thirty years is large, as higher prices have encouraged owners or their heirs to use the saleroom. Many of these were anonymous, not a surprise in an age of confiscatory taxation. A few may be mentioned for particular aspects. Sir Charles OMAN (1860-1946), Professor of History at Oxford and author of the most readable, if not the most accurate, book on English coinage, was known for mistrusting dealers. He built up a large general collection chiefly from Glendining sales, and his Scottish coins were included in one of a series of sales at Christie's, on 31 October 1972. Wharton SINKLER (1962), of Philadelphia, had a choice Scottish series, beginning with a fine sterling of Malcolm IV from Lockett, and his countryman, L.V. LARSEN of Ohio (1972), put together a comprehensive collection of the coinage of Anne, those from the Edinburgh mint including a specimen of the highly elusive 1707 shilling with the 'Edinburgh' bust. Outstanding individual coins continue to appear in otherwise unremarkable collections – for example, there was a class D Edinburgh penny of James II among the Scottish coins in the wide-ranging collection of H. PEGG (1980). Most surprising of all must be the third known specimen of the Roman-lettered groat of James IV, which came to light on the London market from the collection of Armand TRAMPITSCH (d.1975), member of a French brewing family, many of whose coins were sold at auction in Monte Carlo and Paris.³⁴

Despite the temptations of the saleroom, some collectors have continued to dispose of their coins direct to dealers. After Bearman, the most important collection dispersed in that way was the third and last of those sold by Raymond CARLYON-BRITTON, which was handled by Seabys in 1959-61.³⁵ This contained some notable Scottish coins, especially among the rare dates of James VI, such as a 10s. piece of 1583. Philip THORBURN assembled a specialist Scottish series from the leading public and private collections of the time,³⁶ which he sold privately and to Baldwins from 1953, in order to concentrate on Islamic coins. Spinks bought some good specialist Scottish collections in the sixties: one in 1960 from H.B. LORIMER, launderer in Stirling, which had some fine examples from the Stirling mint; another in 1965 from H.J. MARR, an Enfield solicitor who had been collecting since the 1920s; and a third in 1967 from N. ASHERSON, an ENT surgeon, who bought extensively from Lockett, with an emphasis on the reign of Mary. But much the most distinguished was the collection of Dr James DAVIDSON, begun by his father early in the century, part of which was sold by his heirs through Spinks in the 1980s. Davidson had himself collected since the

³³ Obit. *BNJ* 56 (1986), 202-4 and *NCirc*, February 1987, 7. Mrs Murray died in September 1996 (*NCirc*, November 1996, 405-6).

³⁴ Trampitsch was born in the late 19th century and had been a collector since adolescence. The Monte Carlo sale was on

13-14 November 1986 (Ader Picard Tajon), the Paris sale on 31 March and 1 June 1988.

³⁵ Obit. *BNJ* XXIX (1959), 427-8.

³⁶ *BNJ* 65 (1995), 203.

1920s, and his large collection of medieval Scottish coins was one of the most important compiled in this century. He had a deep knowledge of the subject, having worked with H.J. Dakers in the thirties, and although he published relatively little he did complete a significant paper on David II which Dakers had left unfinished.

As Burns observed more than a century ago, Scottish coins are (with the exception of Alexander sterlings and some of the base metal coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) generally scarce, and the number of active collectors has never been large. But they remain an attractive series and one in which there is perhaps still more scope for the student-collector to make important discoveries and advances in knowledge than in the more intensively studied English coinage.

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF A KENTISH ALLIANCE? – LIGHT SHED BY A NEW BRONZE UNIT OF VERICA

G. L. COTTAM

THE distribution of the majority of provenanced coins of Verica leaves little doubt that they circulated primarily in those territories that have traditionally been regarded as being inhabited by the tribes of the Atrebates and Regni (Berkshire, Hampshire, Surrey and Sussex).¹ With the exception of a small number of early coins² the people inhabiting this area would seem to have eschewed bronze as a metal appropriate for coinage³ and restricted the production of coins to gold (staters and their fractions) and silver ('units' and quarter 'units' – the latter commonly referred to as minims). That the coinage of this region is indeed bimetallic is demonstrated by the appearance of coins which are struck from both metals and bear similar or identical inscriptions, although whether there was a formal value relationship between coins of the different metals (or indeed whether the coins of the two metals had similar uses) is unknown. Until now Verica's coinage was believed to conform to this structure, and in past studies of the coins of this region⁴ the different authors have catalogued several well defined issues of coins of Verica, each issue comprising gold staters and quarter staters, along with silver 'units' and quarter 'units' or minims, there being no suggestion that any other metal or denomination might appear to

complicate what was seen as a clearly structured coinage.

If the coinage of Eppillus, which has also been found in parts of this southern region of Britain, is compared with that of Verica, then it will be seen that it is also bimetallic and consists of denominations which match those of Verica's coinage. However, in addition to the bimetallic coinage, there is a further series of coins of Eppillus, found predominantly in Kent or its environs, that exhibits a different structure. These coins form a trimetallic system with staters and quarter staters of gold (VA 430-1,⁵ VA 436-1, VA 437-1), 'units' of silver (VA 441-1) and 'units' (VA 450-1, VA 451-1, VA 452-1, VA 453-1) and half 'units' of bronze.⁶ This system is the norm for Kent and the North Thames region (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, what was previously Middlesex and Northamptonshire), and this, together with the almost exclusively Kentish provenances of coins of this group, provides evidence that they were indeed minted in Kent.⁷

In addition to this second group of coins of Eppillus there are two very rare types, both of silver (VA 442-1 and VA 443-1), that have also been found in Kent, and whose legends appear to proclaim, in addition to the

¹ I am grateful to Simon Bean for helpful comments on the text.

² A. Burnett, 'A New Iron Age Issue From Near Chichester', *NCirc* C.10 (1992), 340–342.

³ Although bronze was not used as a primary metal for striking coins in this region (except for the early issues cited above), it was used to produce the cores of plated coins. There has been considerable debate over whether plated coins were officially sanctioned issues produced by the mint (for whatever reason) or whether they were the output of clandestine forging operations. Much of the case for their production being officially sanctioned has centred on the fact that many of the coins appear to be struck from official dies. However, the realisation that these apparently official dies from which the plated coins were struck could have been produced by hubbing them from genuine coins has weakened the case for plated

coins being official issues of the mint (see G.L. Cottam, in 'Correspondence' *NCirc* C1.7 (1993), 243).

⁴ J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London, 1864); R.P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (London, 1953); R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989); S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1994.

⁵ Catalogue numbers from R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989) are prefaced by the abbreviation VA.

⁶ *BNJ* 64 (1994), Coin Register Nos. 43 and 44.

⁷ Although inscribed bronze half 'units' are otherwise unknown in Kent, uninscribed half 'units' have been recorded, eg VA 154-9, and the absence of other inscribed half 'units' could easily be a consequence of the poor survival of what are rather small, base metal coins.

name of Eppillus, that of Verica. One of these coins also appears to make reference to Tincomarus⁸ (VA 442-1), and it has been proposed that these coins record some form of Kentish alliance between Verica, Eppillus and Tincomarus.⁹ A further coin of Verica (VA 532-1), which does not refer to either Eppillus or Tincomarus, also seems to belong to this group of coins, and it is suggested¹⁰ that an alliance was struck initially between Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica (each of whom styles himself on his coins as a son of Commios – COM.F... Commii Filius – son of Commius),¹¹ but that the alliance was then reduced to one between Verica and Eppillus only (possibly following the death of Tincomarus), finally disappearing to leave Verica holding sway in Kent on his own. Verica finally appears to have been ousted from his position in Britain as a result of civil war and to have travelled to Rome, where we find him in 43AD petitioning for support in

regaining his kingdom.¹²

If the coins described above really do record such a course of events, then it would not be particularly surprising if we were to find further numismatic evidence for Verica's influence and involvement in Kent surfacing at some stage, and for that evidence to reflect the structure of the Kentish coinage of Eppillus rather than that of Verica's coinage in his central southern kingdom. That evidence would now seem to have appeared with the recent discovery of what can only be a bronze 'unit' of Verica. Initially, when the coin was found, it was thought to be the bronze core from a contemporary forgery of what would have been a previously unrecorded stater type of Verica. However, there are a number of features that make this interpretation unlikely and we are left with the conclusion that this really is a bronze 'unit' bearing the name of Verica.



Fig. 1

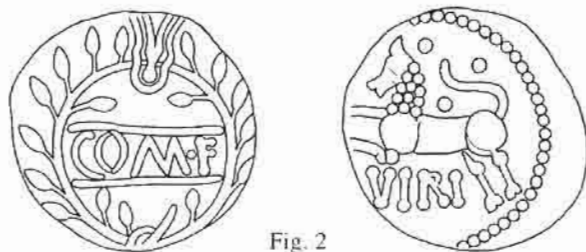


Fig. 2

⁸ Until recently the letters TINCOM, which appear in full or in part on a number of coins (eg VA 397-1), had been thought to stand for Tincommius, following a suggestion made by Evans in 1864 (see note 3, J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 157–160). However, following the appearance of a number of examples of an early inscribed silver 'unit' (VA 473-1) which exhibited a legend commencing TINCOM... (the dies being much larger than the coins struck from them often resulted in the legend being off the flan or, at best, incomplete), it began to be apparent that the letters that appeared at the end of the legend on this coin did not correspond to those in Tincommius. In particular, two coins excavated at Hayling Island and published by D. Briggs, C. Haselgrove and C. King in 'Iron Age and Roman coins from Hayling Island temple' *BNJ* 62 (1992) Plate 2, Nos. 42 and 43, clearly show the legend ending in the letters RVS (probably MRVS) and these coins, together with a number of others which had become available for study, allowed a reconstruction of the legend to be published (see note 3, S.C.

Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, p. 102 and p. 301, Figure 5.13, type 1-5). The accuracy of this reconstruction was vividly confirmed by the discovery of a hoard of 50 staters of Commios, Tincomarus and Eppillus which were found near Alton, Hampshire in March 1995 and declared treasure trove at a coroner's inquest at Alton on 10th May 1996. On one of these staters the legend TINCOMARVS is clearly visible, finally confirming the name of this ruler.

⁹ See note 3, J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pp. 171–172, 194.

¹⁰ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹¹ However, we should not necessarily take these inscriptions as proof that the three rulers were all sons of the same father (cf Caesar, *DBG*.v.14, on Iron Age polyandry, or there is the possibility of adoption, or merely claims of descent to legitimise authority).

¹² Dio 60, 19, 1.

Fig. 1 shows $\times 2$ photographs of the obverse and reverse of the coin while Fig. 2 shows outline drawings of the coin to the same scale. These are included to clarify parts of the design that are left unclear in the photographs, either because of the oblique lighting used to illuminate the coin, or because they are partially obscured by the somewhat uneven patina on the coin's surface. All the features shown in the drawings are clearly visible on the coin. Other possible, but less clearly defined, features have been omitted.

The factors that argue against the coin being the bronze core of a plated stater are its low weight (2.2 grams) together with its relatively unworn state and thin shallow dished fabric. Normally a bronze stater core in this state of preservation would be expected to weigh somewhere between about 3 and 4.5 grams and to have a thick chunky feel to it, and it is unlikely that the surfaces of this coin could have suffered the magnitude of uniform corrosion necessary to reduce the weight and thickness by this amount without affecting the level of detail that is visible.

The obverse and reverse designs on this new coin have several features in common with coins we believe to have been minted in Kent:

1. The name VIRI takes the same form as that seen on two of the three so-called alliance types (VA 443-1 and VA 532-1) with a similar style of lettering (including the small pellet ends to the strokes that form the letters).

2. The treatment of the horse's neck on the reverse, with closely set pellets covering the entire surface from the horse's chest to its head, is very similar to the treatment of animals' necks on, for example, several uninscribed bronzes,¹³ the coins of Dubnovellaunos (eg VA 166-1) or the silver coins inscribed SA.¹⁴ All of which have been found primarily in Kent. In addition, there is a similarity to the neck of the lion on silver units of Eppillus (VA 417-1) that Bean believes to have been struck from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁵

3. The three pellets surrounding the horse's tail are reminiscent of several Kentish coins which have three pellets surrounding a pellet-in-ring motif above a horse as their reverse type (eg VA 163-1 and VA 436-1), but have no real analogues on coins from the central southern territory (although note VA 164-1, actually a North Thames type,¹⁶ which has a similarly shaped and

positioned tail with two pellets and a pellet-in-ring motif surrounding it).

4. The obverse wreath, composed of buds, is very similar not only to some of the silver coins of Amminus (VA 194-1), but also to the wreath on some of the coins of Cunobelin, whose influence seems to have extended into Kent towards the end of the pre-Claudian period (eg VA 2053-1, although in this case the tie of the wreath is on the left hand side of the coin rather than at the bottom). In addition there are similarities to the Kentish stater of Eppillus (VA 430-1, which, although it has a continuous wreath on the obverse, has the legend COM.F across the centre of it as we see on the new coin), and the wreath (again continuous) on the obverse of the silver 'units' of Eppillus from the Calleva mint that Bean believes were from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁷

5. The lettering COM.F on the obverse is stylistically similar to that seen on several coins of Eppillus from Kent. In addition, the letter M in COM shows exactly the same form as that on the stater VA 431-1, another coin which Bean believes to have been struck from dies produced by a Kentish die cutter.¹⁸

The coin is believed to have been found near Salisbury on a site which has produced predominantly Roman coins, this being the only Iron Age coin known to have been found there. In fact this is an area within which pure copper alloy 'unit'-sized coins from the late pre-Roman Iron Age (as opposed to the very debased silver stater-sized coins of the Durotriges – eg VA 1235-1, and their base successors) are generally not found. We are thus left not knowing whether this is likely to have been a coin deposited in the pre-Roman period, or whether it has survived the Claudian invasion to be immersed in the large volumes of bronze small change then in circulation and lost at some later stage (although the state of preservation would suggest that the coin had not been in circulation for very long before it was lost). If the latter were the case then the provenance will have little to tell us about the area in which the coin would normally have circulated. Notwithstanding this possibility, single finds of coins are notoriously unreliable in providing information on the principal areas of usage of currency (one has only to consider the rare SEGO stater, VA 1845-1, which has only three securely provenanced findspots recorded: one from Tring, Hertfordshire, one from Langdon,

six recorded examples of VA 164-1, two are from Suffolk, three have recorded provenances from Essex and the final coin is in Colchester and Essex museum and is likely to be a local find. In addition, the coin has an associated half 'unit' (see BNJ 63 (1993), Coin Register No. 127), with ten examples recorded, nine of which have Suffolk or Essex provenances while the tenth is unprovenanced.

¹⁷ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹⁸ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹³ BNJ 64 (1994), Coin Register No. 41.

¹⁴ BNJ 60 (1990), Coin Register No. 130.

¹⁵ See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351.

¹⁶ Van Arsdell would appear to have assigned this type to Kent mainly on the evidence that the pentagram which appears below the horse on the reverse is a motif that otherwise appears to be confined to Kent. However, this is a dangerous assumption, particularly where some diecutters would appear to have been peripatetic (see note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatas and Regni*, pp. 347–351). In this case, of the

Kent, and a third which was found in Zealand in 1952¹⁹ to appreciate the fact).

If all the above information is taken into consideration, we are led inexorably to the conclusion that, notwithstanding the Salisbury findspot being some considerable distance away from the south-eastern corner of Britain, this coin was probably struck on behalf of Verica to be current in Kent some time during the period between the formation of an alliance between Tincomarus, Eppillus and Verica and the expulsion of Verica from Britain. Furthermore, given the absence of any reference to either Tincomarus or Eppillus, it is likely that the coin was produced to

complement the silver unit VA 532-1 after the alliance had disintegrated (for whatever reason), leaving Verica alone in power in this region. The existence of the coin adds weight to the argument that VA 532-1 is indeed part of the so-called alliance group of coins minted in Kent and it raises the possibility that further coins of Verica (and possibly even Tincomarus), which conform to the normal currency structure of Kent, may yet be found. One thing, however, is clear. These coins of the alliance period were probably produced in relatively small quantities, and unless a major new hoard or temple site is discovered then they are likely to remain relatively rare.

¹⁹ The coin was found at Munke-Bjergby, Alsted herred, Zealand, in 1952 and is now owned by the National Museum,

Copenhagen. (Celtic Coin Index 73.0225).

SOME IMITATIONS AND FORGERIES OF THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LONG CROSS PENCE OF HENRY III: CORRECTED CATALOGUE

J.J. NORTH

THE article to which this catalogue belongs was published in *BNJ* 65 (1995), at pages 83–119, but owing to an error by the printer between the checking of final page proofs and the production of bound copies, the catalogue of coins at pages 85–93 appeared with letters missing from all the legends. The complete article was republished in offprint form and circulated

to all members of the British Numismatic Society, but the corrected catalogue is reproduced here to avoid possible problems for readers in years to come. For the footnotes accompanying the catalogue, readers should refer to the appropriate pages in *BNJ* 65.

Ligations are indicated by a line under the letters involved.

CATALOGUE¹⁰

Without sceptre

Class 1a. Obv. Crescent and star of six points *hENRICVS:REX rev.* *ANG/LIE/TER/Cl¹¹*

1. Obverse similar to English prototype but star in i.m. has eight points. Cinquefoil of pellets before *REX*. Pellet on crossbar of *E*s (as on English coins of class 1).

Rev. *BLO/ME/NBE/RG*

1.19/18.4

Struck at the mint of Blomberg, this variety was attributed by Chautard to Bernhard III of Lippe (416 and pl. XXVII, 7). This mint signature also appears on some of the enigmatic Videkind Rex coins.¹² Others of that issue, without a mint name and possibly struck at Enger, have the cinquefoil (rosette) which was the badge of Lippe.¹³ It may perhaps be deliberate that the number of points in the star on the above coin differs from that on the prototype. Berghaus remarks that a star was the armorial badge of Schwalenberg, but the coin to which he refers in this connection has one of only six points. However, an eight-pointed one appears on some Videkind Rex coins,¹⁴ as well as on 'Scottish' sterlings struck by Count Widekind VII of Schwalenberg (pl. 8, A) and those of Count Henry of Sternberg. The latter, struck at Bosingfeld, have three such stars in the crown and one as the sceptre terminal (pl. 8, B). In the light of this the authority responsible for the above coin appears uncertain.

2. *Rev.* *RON/ROL(D)EL/VND* + Double band to crown. Wedge/crescent tailed *R*.¹⁵

1.12/17.3

Class 1b. Similar but obverse reads hENRICVS REX ANG and reverse LIE/TER/Cl¹¹/mint.

3. *Rev.* *(LIE)/TER/Cl¹¹/LVD*

1.40/21.6

Class 2. Star of six points hENRICVS REX TERCl¹¹. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

4. Portrait resembles that on 1. Letter *X* of wedges.

Rev. *E(reversed)IO/IHC/OHC/ANT* (based on Nicole on Cant)

1.00/15.4

5. Same obverse die as 6

Rev. *ION/OHL/INC/OLH¹⁶*

1.09/16.9

6. Same obverse die as 5

Rev. *ClV/ARN/ESB/ERG* (P. Woodhead colln.)

The reverse of this coin die-links with a sterling whose obverse reads *GODEFRIDVS CO* (pl. 8, C – P. Woodhead colln.) confirming the attribution of a cut halfpenny from the same dies to Gottfried III of Arnsberg.¹⁷ The star and crescent i.m. on the obverse suggests that this die was based upon class 1, and the minute extra pellets in the reverse quarters are also a feature of that class.

7. *hENRICVS REX IERCl¹¹* 'Small round face with neck. 'Arrow-head' letter *X*. Same die as 8 and 9.

Rev. *hEN/RIO/NIE/NDE* (based on Henri on Lunde)

1.11/17.1

8. Same obverse die as 7 and 9

Rev. *IIIC/OLE/ONL/VIID* (based on Nicole on Lund)

1.29/19.9

9. Same die as 7 and 8.

Rev. *WNL/LEN/ONL/VND* (based on Willem on Lund)

1.37/21.1

10. *hENKICVS RCNX E-Cl¹¹* 'Pommé' letter *X*.¹⁸

Rev. *HIC/OLE/OIL/V* (inverted) *ID* – retrograde and outwards (based on Nicole on Lund)

1.38/21.3

Class 3. Star of six points hENRICVS:REX III. Rev. Moneyer and mint.

- (a) Narrow face based on English classes 3a and 3ab (see also 134).

11. *Rev.* *DAV/ION/DEV/ELI¹* (same die as 39 and 70)

1.42/21.9

12. *E* with long spur and obverse *R* with wedge/crescent tail

Rev. *IOH/ON/CAN/TOR*

1.47/22.7

13. *Rev.* WIL/LCM/OIL/VND (reversely barred N with pellet centre) 1.32/20.4
14. Four pellets around bust (as on English class 5). Letter h inverted; legend ends with inverted h (representing l'). 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. RD/AR·D/ONL/VMD (based on Ricard on Lund). Same die as 67. 1.29/19.9
15. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. hCIN/RIO/ILV (both inverted) NOCI (same die as 57)¹⁹ 1.06/16.4
16. hENRIEVS REX·IH' 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. HIC/OL(inverted)EI/OND/AHT. 1.38/21.3
17. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. WIL/LCN/LVN/DON. 1.32/20.3
18. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Rev. NIC/ION/NLV/ANT (combination of Nic(ole on C)ant and Ion or (Dav)i on Lu(nde) – apparently base metal). 0.85/13.2
19. 'Arrow-head' letter X (large). Reversed S.
Rev. RIC/RIO/NIV/INEI (combination of Ric(ard) and (Hen)ri on Lunde). 1.26/19.5
- 0.1. Letter X unclear – apparently pommé, but possibly worn 'arrow-head'.
Rev. ARIEI/WhC/-/-²⁰ 1.18/18.3
- (b) Smaller face mainly based on English class 3b.
- (i) Pointed chin.
20. 'Arrow-head' letter X.
Neck indicated: four crescents around portrait (found on English class 5).
Rev. DHV/ION/IVN/DEI (based on Davi on Lunden) 1.46/22.5
21. REX·III Solid oval eyes. Reversed N: crescent-tailed R.
Rev. CIVI/NRV/LON/LON²¹ 1.11/17.2
22. *Rev.* CIVI/VIN/-/N (reversed Ns) 0.91/13.8
- (ii) Round chin with heavy beard deceptively copying English class 3b.
23. *Rev.* HIC/OLE/RNL/BOV. 1.33/20.6
24. Same obverse die as 25 and 0.2
Rev. WIL/LCM/LVN/DON. 1.27/19.6
25. Same obverse die as 24 and 0.2.
Rev. WID/LCM/ONC/AIT. 1.33/20.5
- 0.2 Same obverse die as 24 and 25.
26. *Rev.* hEN/RICV/S·CO/MES (attributed to Henry II or III, Lord of Kuinre).²² wnr. 1.03/15.9
- Im. Shield with two (possibly three) pellets.
Rev. RIO/RD/Oih/EIEI (based on Ricard on Here). Single pellet in angles.
This coin has been doubtfully attributed to Count Henry of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen striking at the mint of Vlotho (+ 1270).²³
27. hENRICIV + REX·III²⁴
Rev. RIC/ARD/OND/IVEI 1.26/19.5
28. REX·INI' 'Arrow-head' letter X. Same die as 29–32.
Rev. BIR/TONL/IEh/CRNL (h and second R reversed) – same die as 94. 1.44/22.2
29. Same obverse die as 28 and 30–2.
Rev. DNI/COL/EON/LVN (first N pellet-barred – based on Nicole on Lun) 1.43/22.1
30. Same obverse die as 28–9 and 31–2.
Rev. INE/OLC/ONL/VND (based on Nicole on Lund). 1.37/21.2
31. Same obverse die as 28–30 and 32.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed) OI/LVN (same die as 95 and 105) 1.44/22.2
32. Same obverse die as 28–31.
Rev. WIL/LCM/ONC/ANT (first N pellet-barred) 1.45/22.4
33. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Neck indicated.
Rev. ARIE/WIG/RIE/TVO. 1.15/17.7
34. hCRICVS REX·IN (reversed) ·I' 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 35.
Rev. OLE/IIIC/OHL/VHL (based on Nicole on Lund) – same die as 101. 1.41/21.8
35. Same obverse die as 34.
Rev. hEN/RIO/NLV/NDEI. 1.42/21.9
36. 'Arrow-head' letter X. Four pellets around head. Same die as 37.
Rev. hEN/NDE/RIO/NLV (First two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 87. 1.48/22.9
37. Same obverse die as 36.
Rev. RIE/R (reversed) AD/ONL/VND (retrograde and anticlockwise). 1.58/24.4

38. REX:NI' (Ns reversed). Irregular letter X (patté/pommé). Pellet between curls. Same die as 39–41 (D & S die 0.1).
Rev. B'R/hEN/TOL/ERN (second R reversed). 1.48/22.9
39. Same obverse die as 38 and 40–41.
Rev. DAV/ION/DEN/ELI' (same die as 11 and 70).²⁵ 1.36/21.0
40. Same obverse die as 38–9 and 41.
Rev. LIET/ER/CI'+/LON (same die as 65 and 108). 1.25/19.3
41. Same obverse die as 38–40.
Rev. RID/ARMD/ONL/VRD (reversed N – based on Ricard on Lund).²⁶ 1.32/20.4
42. Letter X pommé – see n. 18.
Rev. IICI/OICI/OIL/VID. 1.27/19.6
43. Saltire letter X. Colon after REX Neck indicated. Four pellets in field.
Rev. WIL/LHM/LON/DON. 1.03/15.9
- (iv) Loosely based on class 3.
44. Star of eight points. REX II reversed N and S. Neck indicated.
Rev. G.BO/(PAR)/DCN/SIS.²⁷ 1.17/18.1
45. IhiER(retrograde letters)CVS REX III. Minute initial mark. Unusual letter R with crescent tail.
Rev. hCI/RIO/N(reversed)LV/NDI 1.29/19.9
46. E(reversed)II:ICVS RCIX:HP
Rev. NID/OLE/OIL/VND (second N reversed). 1.30/20.0
47. hIERCIIVS (reversed)IIEIX:IID.
Rev. IIIE/OIE/OIIE/VVE. 1.10/17.0
48. hCIRICVS hX III'
Rev. Blundered legend consisting mainly of strokes. 0.88/13.6
- (v) Small module with blundered legends and crude portrait.
49. ICI---VSDICXII. Letter X pommé
Rev. ---/N(reversed)O/DVL/IVO. 0.71/10.9
50. Very blundered obverse legend.
Rev. Cross in circle CII'/IIII/HI/VIIIO. 0.71/11.0
51. Strokes in place of obverse legend and jumbled letters on reverse. 0.87/13.9
52. Jumbled letters and symbols.
Rev. --/NO/ON/VD. 1.11/17.1
53. Grotesque portrait and jumbled legends. Very base metal. 0.78/12.0

With sceptre

Class 4. Star of eight points. hENRICVS REX:III' Portrait similar to late class 3c, but holding sceptre which cuts legend between REX and: III.

54. Very blundered legend.²⁸
Rev. IOVI/MOI/IVC/IOII. 1.23/19.9

Class 5. No. i.m. hENRICVS REX III' commencing immediately after sceptre. It is often impossible to suggest an association with a specific one of the eight sub-classes of this type, as many of the imitations display the criteria of more than one of these – some even appear on non-sceptre copies. Most appear to be based upon 5a–c, although a few have possibly taken 5g for their prototype. For convenience they are sub-divided in the following lists primarily by the marks in the field and secondarily by the basic shape of the eyes, but it will be appreciated that there is no chronological or other significance in this arrangement. On official coins, crescents in the field occur mainly in 5a–c and pellets in 5f–g, although a few earlier varieties and all 5d–f have a pellet between the curls. Most varieties have some coins without any marks, but the fringe of minute pellets below the jawline, and sometimes also around the neck ('necklace') is mainly confined to 5g. Annulet eyes were used in 5a, b and d, whilst oval ones occur in all other varieties of this class.

- (i) Four crescents in the field – between and below curls.
Annulet eyes.
55. Rev. RIC/OAL/ARD/VND (N reversed; second A double-barred – a rare feature of some official English reverse dies of classes 5a–b). 1.36/21.0
This reverse die was also used with a Lippe obverse in the name of Bernhard.²⁹
56. Reversely barred N with pellet centre and reversed S on the obverse.
Rev. WIL/NEH (upturned)/OIH/RID (combination of Wil(lem), Hen(ri) and Ric(ard)). 1.17/18.1

57.	Reversed S on obverse (same die as 58?). Rev. hCIN/RIO/IILV(both inverted)/NDCl (same die as 15).	1.34/20.7
58.	Mis-struck. Reversed S on obverse. Only two crescents visible, but probably the same obverse die as 57. Rev. RIÉ/IRD/ONÉ/LOV. ³⁰	1.53/23.6
59.	Rev. HRÉ/RID/ONÉ/LOV. ³¹	1.34/20.7
60.	Rev. ARIC/WIG/RIO/TIÉ.	1.11/17.2
61.	Rev. ARIC/WIC/RVO/TÉO.	1.31/20.2
62.	Rev. ARIC/MIÉ/GLV/-IC.	1.10/17.0
63.	Letter X patté. Rev. hCII/RIO/IILV/IDCl	1.49/23.0
64.	Rev. NIC/ONL/CNL/VIÉ.	1.32/20.4
65.	Reversed Cl in hENRClVS (D & S die 0.3). Same die as 66–7.	
	Rev. LIÉ/TÉR/CI'+/LON (same die as 40 and 108).	1.32/20.4
66.	Same obverse die as 65 and 67. Rev. NIC/OLÉ/ONC/ANT.	1.42/21.9
67.	Same die as 65–6. Rev. RD/AR(-D)/ONL/VMD (same die as 14).	1.25/19.3
68.	Same obverse die as 69–73. Rev. ARW/ENR/ONC/AN (pellet on crossbar of first and second N).	1.41/21.8
69.	Same obverse die as 68 and 70–3. Rev. BR'/hÉI/TONL/CAI (reversely barred N).	1.40/21.6.
70.	Same obverse die as 68–9 and 71–3. Rev. DAV/ION/DÉV/ÉLI' (D & S die R.1 – same as 11 and 39). ³²	1.39/21.5
71.	Same obverse die as 68–70 and 72–3. Rev. hCII/RIO/IILV/IDCl	1.36/21.0
72.	Same obverse die as 68–71 and 73. Rev. NIC/OIÉ/OIL/VID.	1.42/21.9
73.	Same obverse die as 68–72. Rev. WAL/TÉR/OIC/AIT.	1.55/23.9
74.	Reversed Ns on both sides. Rev. RIÉ/ORI/ÉVI/CNR.	1.31/20.2
75.	Rev. ROB/CRT/ON(reversed)Cl/ANT (retrograde).	1.30/20.1
76.	Rev. h-G/ÉDO/WIÉ/TOR.	1.15/17.8

Oval eyes

77.	hENRClVS Rev. NIC/OLÉ/ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 99.	1.46/22.5
78.	Rev. NIÉ/IHD/ONL/VND.	1.40/21.6
79.	Rev. NIC/OHD/ONLÉ/-ON	1.21/18.7
80.	Rev. NIC/ONLCl/GIC/--- (pellet-barred Ns).	1.26/19.6
81.	Rev. hIÉ/OhÉ/II-I/VIIÉ (second É reversed).	0.92/14.2
82.	Rev. ARID/ARII/OIID/VIID (reversed És for Ds).	1.04/16.0
83.	Rev. ARIC/ARC/ONC/VND	1.33/20.6
84.	Rev. ARIÉ/(h?)ÉI/ARIÉ/NLV.	1.04/16.0

(ii) Crescent beneath curls each side. Oval eyes.

0.3.	Rev. ARIC/hÉN/RIO/MLV (based on Ricard and Henri on Lund). ³³	1.36/21.0
85.	Rev. ARIÉ/WIG/ARVCI/TRO	1.13/17.4
86.	Rev. ARIÉ/WIC/TOR/--V.	1.04/16.1
0.4.	Rev. IÉ R/WÉ-/SON/VÉT (based on Iervis on Ivel?). ³⁴	1.36/21.0

(iii) Pellet between curls.

Annulet eyes

87.	hENRClVS. Crescent beneath curls. Rev. hÉN/NDE/RIO/NLV (first two quarters retrograde; last N reversed). Same die as 36.	1.35/20.8
88.	Obverse of similar style to 101. Rev. IICl/OLC/CII/Clv (based on Nicole on Lund).	1.50/23.2

89. *Rev.* BR/hEI/TOL/CiNL 1.28/19.7
90. Fringe of small pellets (same obverse as 91).
Rev. BIL/hEI/TONL/CiNR (hybrid legend possibly based on Gilbert on Can and Henri on Lund). 1.34/20.7
91. Same obverse die as 90
Rev. NIC/OLC/OIL/VHD (reversed EI for D). 1.25/19.3
92. Inverted h on obverse. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. WIL/LiEM/ONL/VID (reversed EI for D) – same die as 107. 1.34/20.7
93. Fringe of small pellets.
Rev. RIC/ARNO/CiNL/ONV (second N pellet-barred).³⁵ 1.42/21.9
94. Fringe and necklace of small pellets. Same die as 95.
Rev. BIR/TONL/iEh/CiRNL (h and second R reversed) – same die as 28. 1.33/20.5
95. Same obverse die as 94.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 105). 1.27/19.6
96. Fringe and necklace of small pellets.
Rev. DNI/COL/EON/LVN 1.25/19.3
97. REX divided by hand. Curule X.
Rev. WIL/LCiN/EON/KAN (all Ns reversed) – based on a reverse of cl.5d.³⁶
 Silvered base metal. 1.32/20.4

Oval eyes

98. WIL/LiEM/ONCI/ANT (last N pellet-barred). 1.03/15.9
- (iv) No marks in obverse field.

Annulet eyes; no neck

99. Inverted h on obverse (same die as 100).
Rev. NIC/OLiE/ONL/VID (retrograde) – same die as 77. 1.39/21.5
100. Same obverse die as 99.
Rev. NiE/RiE/ONL/BVD (retrograde). 1.33/20.5
101. Obverse of similar style to 88.
Rev. OLiE/iiliC/OHL/VHL (same die as 34). 1.43/22.1
102. Distinctive portrait. Crescent-tailed R.
Rev. hEiN/RiO/NLV/NDEi (second N reversed). 1.42/21.9

Oval eyes

103. *Rev.* DNV/iON/LVH/DiEi (based on Davi on Lunden). 1.32/20.4
104. *Rev.* NliEh/WA/O-R/OIN (Ns and R reversed; h inverted). 1.09/16.8
105. Same obverse die as 106–7.
Rev. INI/DOI/EI (reversed)OI/LVN (same die as 31 and 95). 1.39/21.5
106. Same die as 105 and 107.
Rev. iiliC/OLC/OIL/VND. 1.38/21.3
107. Same die as 105–6.
Rev. WIL/LiEM/ONL/VID (reversed EI for D) – same die as 92. 1.40/21.6
- (v) Four pellets in field.

Annulet eyes

108. Same die as 109 (D & S die 0.4).³⁷
Rev. LiEi/TiEiR/CiI'+/LON (same die as 40 and 65). 1.35/20.8
109. Same die as 108.
Rev. RiEiN/EiRO/NiEV/EiRV (second N reversed). 1.45/22.4
- 0.5 *Rev.* ARiC/iWiC/RiC/iVO.³⁸ 1.24/19.1

Oval eyes

110. *Rev.* HiC/OL(inverted)Ei/DNK/iIT (based on Nicole on Kant – cl.5d) 1.40/21.6
111. *Rev.* hEiN/RiO/NiV/NDEi. 1.36/21.0



ALLEN: HENRY VII SOVEREIGN PENCE



HOLMES: DAVID II FARTHING



THOMPSON: ARMORIAL TOKEN

112.	Rev. RID/ <u>ARD</u> /OND/ <u>VHD</u> (reversed E for D) – based on Ricard on Lund.	1.22/18.9
113.	Nothing between curls; minute pellet below. Rev. RIC/ <u>ARMD</u> /ONL/ <u>VI'D</u> (reversed N). ³⁹	1.34/20.7
(vi)	Crude and blundered.	
114.	Crude portrait with sceptre to right. Reverse illegible.	1.21/18.7
115.	---ICIEVIL--- Rev. IVIL/ <u>ONL</u> (retrograde & inverted)/IBI/OE (reversed)	0.99/15.3
116.	Crude face with pellet eyes. Rev. IV/ <u>CI</u> E (reversed)/IOI/DO. ⁴⁰	1.33/20.6
117.	Very crude portrait. Rev. REN/A/D/OHL/ <u>VH</u> . ⁴¹	1.26/19.5

Irish type obverses⁴²

-hENRI/CVSR/EX (sceptre)III'. Crowned portrait holding sceptre in right hand; cinquefoil in field, all contained within a triangle dividing the legend.

118.	D & S die 0.6. Same die as 119–21. Rev. NIC/ <u>OL</u> E/ <u>ON</u> C/ <u>ANT</u> .	1.39/21.5
119.	Same die as 118 and 120–1. Rev. DIN (reversely barred)/COL/EON/LVN	1.43/22.1
120.	Same die as 118–9 and 121. Rev. BER/hEN/TON/ <u>CI</u> AN (combination of (Gil)ber(t) and Hen(ri) on Can).	1.38/21.3
121.	Same obverse die as 118–20. Rev. WIL/ <u>LI</u> M/ <u>ON</u> C/ <u>ANT</u> (D & S die R.5 – BH 38)	1.32/20.4
122.	D & S die 0.8. Same die as 123–4. Rev. (hEN)/RIO/ <u>N</u> L/ <u>V</u> HD.	1.09/16.8
123.	Same obverse die as 122 and 124. Rev. hEN/RIO/NIV/ <u>ND</u> E	1.31/20.2
124.	Same obverse die as 122–3. Rev. hEN/RI/-/NO/NOL (many letters inverted or reversed).	1.00/15.4
125.	D & S die 0.9. Rev. ADA/MOI/NE/ <u>V</u> ECA. ⁴³	1.25/19.3

Crude varieties with blundered legends.

126.	Rev. PIC/HD/ <u>OND</u> /IVC (based on Ricard on Dive)	1.36/21.0
127.	Rev. E -V/OIE (reversed)/-O/I E V.	1.42/21.9
128.	Rev. VOD/SDN/ <u>VHN</u> / <u>CI</u> AI.	1.12/17.3
129.	D & S die 0.29. Sceptre omitted; trefoil to right and quatrefoil to left of bust. Jumbled letters and symbols in both legends.	1.05/16.2
130.	D & S die 0.36. Small face with beard of long strokes; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. h(inverted)E-/OHE/DVO/IVI E (first and last E reversed) – D & S die R.47.	0.95/14.7
131.	D & S die 0.38. hVGI/CIIOVO/O. Small face without beard; triangle of pellets to right. Rev. H-G/VOII/E E -/O E E (D & S die R.49)	1.40/21.6
132.	Portrait of similar style. Rev. DAV/IIN(reversed)/DVO/ E L (retrograde – Davi on Dive)	1.03/15.9
133.	Portrait with large annulet eyes and beard of strokes resembling the so-called 'ape' face of OS 120. ⁴⁴ Blundered legends on both sides.	0.98/15.1

Problematic

134.	Similar to English class 3a but with beard of curved lines. ⁴⁵ Rev. HIC/ <u>OL</u> E/ <u>OHL</u> / <u>VHD</u> .	1.47/22.7
135.	Obverse brockage, ⁴⁶ Portrait resembling that on some coins of Lippe especially in the treatment of the beard (see p. 113)	1.22/18.9

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EDWARD I CLASS 2

MARTIN ALLEN

THE Fox brothers associated the introduction of their class II with the beginning of William de Turnmire's tenure of the office of master on 2 January 1280, as it was the first class struck in three places named in Turnmire's indenture of 8 December 1279: Canterbury, York, and Bristol.¹ Lord Stewartby has suggested that comparison of mint accounts with numbers of coins of the early Fox classes in hoards indicates that class 2² must have begun before January 1280.³ This suggestion is consistent with documentary evidence discovered by Mavis Mate. The first recoinage dies for Canterbury were ready on 15 November 1279, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's dies were delivered to his representative on that day.⁴ It may be concluded that class 2a, the earliest class known from Canterbury, began no later than 15 November.⁵ Class 2a cannot have begun earlier than 6 July 1279, if the Fox brothers were right to suggest that the production of their classes Ib–Id followed the presentation of Stephen de Mundene as engraver on that day.⁶

Eighty-one (43.3%) of the 187 London pence of class 2 in the exceptionally large hoard from Montrave have been attributed to class 2a, but only one of the hoard's thirteen class 2 pence of Canterbury belonged to

this sub-class.⁷ It might be concluded that the Canterbury dies were supplied towards the end of the issue of class 2a. However, the contribution of Canterbury to the production of class 2a may have been substantially reduced by the mint's continued closure after the initial supply of dies in November 1279. Use of the new dies was probably delayed until January 1280, when the accounts for the Canterbury mint began.⁸

The single class 2a obverse die recorded from York coins could have been made before the inclusion of York in Turnmire's indenture of 8 December 1279, although it was probably supplied after that date.⁹ York's first supply of obverse dies may have consisted of a batch of class 2b dies, with a relatively old class 2a die from stock. It can certainly be suggested that the earliest class 2b dies used in York and Bristol were supplied no later than the end of December 1279, in preparation for Turnmire's operation of mints in those places from 2 January 1280.

On 2 November 1279 the exchequer was instructed to supply dies for the new coinage to the bishop of Durham,¹⁰ and the bishop's attorney surrendered two of Durham's three sets of old Long Cross dies on that day.¹¹ The dies provided after the return of the third set

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¹ H. B. E. Fox and J. S. Fox, 'Numismatic history of the reigns of Edward I, II, and III [part 2]', *BNJ* 7 (1910), 91–142, at pp. 111–13.

² Fox class II was redefined, and subdivided into class IIa and class IIb, by G. L. V. Tatler, 'A note on the transition between types I and II of the pennies of Edward I', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 288–293. J. J. North *et al.*, *The J. J. North Collection: Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279–1351 with some supplementary examples* (SCBI 39, Oxford, 1989), p. 10, pl. 3, 47–59, pl. 4, 60–74 uses a revised notation, with class 2ab transitional between classes 2a and 2b.

³ I. Stewart, 'English numismatics – progress and prospects', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 110–22, at p. 116. Comparison of hoards with mint accounts might provide a date for the inception of class 2, if the accounts recorded quantities of pence struck during a series of periods between the introduction of class I and the end of class 2. Unfortunately, the most probable date for the end of class 2 (c. July 1280) is not close to either end of the 18 May 1280–18 October 1280 accounting period, and unknown quantities of groats were included with the London pence in the accounts.

⁴ M. Mate, 'Monetary policies in England, 1272–1307', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 34–79, at pp. 46–7. The exchequer memorandum cited by Mate (Public Record Office [hereafter PRO] E 368/53 rot. 2d.) specifies three sets of dies for the archbishop, and five for the king.

⁵ Lord Stewartby has independently reached this conclusion.

⁶ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 107–8, 136–7 (document xxxiv).

⁷ G. L. V. Tatler and B. H. I. H. Stewart, 'Edwardian sterling in the Montrave hoard', *BNJ* 31 (1962), 80–7, at p. 87, applying Tatler's two subclasses, without the transitional class 2ab subsequently introduced by North (see note 2). N. J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68, at p. 54 lists eleven Canterbury pence with class 2 obverses in the 1983 Aberdeen hoard, only one of which belonged to class 2a.

⁸ G. C. Crump and C. Johnson, 'Tables of bullion coined under Edward I, II, and III', *NC* 4th ser. 13 (1913), 200–45, at pp. 226–7. Mate, 'Monetary policies', pp. 49–50 discusses the extensive refurbishment of mint and exchange buildings in Canterbury, which seems to have caused the continued closure of the mint.

⁹ Tatler, 'A note on the transition between types I and II', p. 289 and fig. I, c recorded only one coin from this die. Mr North has noted two further specimens: one in the 1983 Aberdeen hoard (Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards', pp. 44, 57, and pl. 12, 12), and the other in 1988 Amble hoard (Sothebys sale 22–23 March 1990, lot 396, listed as class 2b).

¹⁰ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 103, 136 (document xxxi).

¹¹ PRO E 368/53, rot. 2.

of old dies must have belonged to class 2b, the earliest recoinage sub-class known from the Durham mint.¹² These class 2b dies were probably supplied to the exchequer in November, for transmission to Durham.¹³

George Brooke dated the end of class 2 to May 1280, without supporting evidence.¹⁴ The Fox brothers' date, c. July 1280, depended upon the assumption that the end of class 2 was almost immediately followed by the

issue of the first halfpence, attributable to class 3b, from 15 August 1280.¹⁵ This assumption is consistent with hoard evidence. Classes 3a and 3b supplied only twenty-three (7.8%) of the 293 London pence of classes 3a-3f in the Montrave hoard,¹⁶ and production of class 3f dies probably ended no later than c. December 1280.¹⁷

¹² Mate, 'Monetary policies', p. 47 assumed that the need to return the third set of old dies delayed the supply of the new dies until January 1280, implicitly supporting the Fox chronology, but the exchequer memorandum recording the return of dies (see note 11) does not say when the new dies were supplied.

¹³ Bishop Lewis de Beaumont's first dies, ordered by a writ to the exchequer dated 1 June 1317, were received at the exchequer on 10 June (PRO E 159/96, rot. 85d.).

¹⁴ G. C. Brooke, *English Coins from the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (3rd edn., London, 1950), p. 122. Brooke may have assumed that the introduction of Fox class II coincided

with the beginning of the 18 May 1280 – 18 October 1280 accounting period.

¹⁵ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', pp. 114–15.

¹⁶ Tatler and Stewart, 'Edwardian sterling', p. 87. The coins of Burns group A11 (North class 3bc) and the related variety Burns group A12 have been counted with the coins of classes 3c–f.

¹⁷ Fox and Fox, 'Numismatic history', p. 124 cite a writ of 5 December 1280 ordering the sending of money to Chester to open the king's exchange. The supply of class 3g dies to Chester may have begun at about the same time.

MORE ON THE DUMFRIES HOARDS (1878)

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

IN an earlier volume of this Journal the writer quoted evidence for the discovery of two separate Edwardian coin hoards in Dumfries in 1878, and for their subsequent confusion in published records.¹ The same article contained a full catalogue and discussion of the 'Travellers' Rest' hoard, which was acquired in its entirety by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (now part of the National Museums of Scotland). The recent rediscovery of further items relating to these hoards should be recorded.

The latest document referring to the hoards which was previously known was a letter, dated 31 December 1878, from Stair Agnew, the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, to George Sim at the National Museum of Antiquities, to accompany a pottery vessel which had contained the second Dumfries hoard. This letter revealed the first evidence of the confusion of the two hoards. Another letter which has come to light in the museum archives demonstrates how the mixing up of the records of the two finds continued in later communications. This letter is from John Reid, then the Q & LTR, to George Sim at the museum, and was dated 21 December 1881, about three years later than Stair Agnew's letter. Reid writes:

In the list of cases of 'Treasure Trove' supplied by Mr. Anderson as regards coins etc recovered thro' my Department for the Museum, he refers to a find of coins in a mass at Dumfries on 6 Jun 1878, but the enclosed from you points to another find there the same year. Will you kindly enquire into this, that if needs be I may include both finds in my Report to the Treasury? It wd. appear that no further action has been taken on this second find, so perhaps in your letter including it in the list we are reporting you could say whether all or any portion of it is to be retained for the Nat. Collection.

A pencil note in Sim's handwriting at the end of this letter records that:

Mr Burns has all the Dumfries Coins, all the Fortrose Coins, and all the selected specimens of the Montrave, but not the

Dumfries seal. Besides the above Mr Burns has the 'Giffnock Find'.

Sim's reply to Reid, dated 9 January 1882, commences:

Dumfries Treas. Trove

Referring to my letter to Mr Agnew of 29th June 1878 acknowledging receipt of his letter of 26th sending a box said to contain 916 silver coins or thereby and an ancient seal, I am sorry I am only now able to deal with that find - I now herewith return 602 of the coins, having retained the remainder and the seal for the Museum.

The letter goes on to deal with the Giffnock and Fortrose hoards. It is clear from this that over 300 coins from the second Dumfries hoard of 1878 were retained for the NMAS, but unfortunately their provenance was not recorded when they were put into the museum's trays, and none can now be identified. The presentation to the museum of coins from both hoards is officially confirmed in a letter from Reid to Sim dated 7 February 1882.

The second recent discovery comprises two coin fragments from the 'Travellers' Rest' hoard. In the report on the hoard the writer noted that 'a cut halfpenny and farthing' of Alexander III had formed part of it, but had subsequently been lost, along with one Edward I penny, after being put on display. If these descriptions had been correct, they would have suggested fractions of pennies of Alexander's first (voided cross) coinage. The two items have now been found, stored with the jewellery items from the hoard, and it can be revealed that they are merely two broken pieces of one second coinage penny, class Mb2. There is no suggestion that they were deliberately cut. The Edwardian penny remains missing.

¹ N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Old and New Edwardian Hoards from Scotland', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 41-69, at pp. 41-49.

AN UNRECORDED FARTHING TYPE OF DAVID II OF SCOTLAND

N.M.McQ. HOLMES

THE early (pre-1357) coinage of David II is considered to have comprised two separate issues.¹ The earlier, possibly struck at Berwick c. 1329–33, consisted only of halfpennies and farthings with five-pointed mullets in the angles of the reverse cross. The later series, probably struck in Edinburgh c. 1351–57, included pennies and halfpennies bearing six-pointed mullets on the reverse. The pennies of this issue are common, but the halfpennies of the first issue are very rare, and those of the second issue extremely rare, as are the farthings of the first issue. No farthing of the second issue appears so far to have been recorded.

In 1992 the National Museums of Scotland acquired a farthing, found by a metal-detectorist in East Lothian, which appears to belong to the second issue (Pl. 11). Its details are as follows:

Obverse: DAVID-DEI-GRAC-I-; crowned bust to left with sceptre

Reverse: REX/SCOT/TOR/VM-; single long cross; six-pointed mullets in first and third angles; the others uncertain owing to flattening

12.0 mm.; 0.33 g. (5.14 gr.); die axis 1.0

The crude style of the bust, with sharply projecting left shoulder/chest representation, is comparable to that commonly seen on pennies of the second issue, corresponding perhaps most closely to Burns 229–230, the 'First Head' identified by Dakers.² The two visible mullets on the reverse can definitely be seen to have six points, despite the general lack of clarity on this side of the coin, but unfortunately it is impossible to ascertain

whether there are mullets in the second and fourth angles of the cross, although there is a suggestion of one in the fourth. In the first issue coinage, halfpennies bear mullets in two opposite angles only, whereas farthings have them in all four. Halfpennies of the second issue bear mullets in either two or three quarters, with alternate angles on the former type containing the letter I, thought to be the initial of the moneyer, James Mulekyn.³ It would not therefore have been necessary, as it presumably was in the case of the first issue, for the farthings to bear four mullets to enable them to be distinguished at a glance from halfpennies of the same issue with two mullets and two blank quarters. The unique design of both second issue halfpenny types would have served to distinguish them from farthings with either four or two mullets.

The only aspect of this farthing which does not accord with an attribution to the second issue is its weight, which at 5.14 grains is very high for a coinage based on a penny of 18 grains. It corresponds more closely with the theoretical weight of $21 \frac{3}{7}$ grains for the pennies of Robert Bruce, or with the English standards of 1344–46 (20.3 grains) or 1346–51 (20.0 grains), any of which may also have been the standard on which the first issue halfpennies and farthings of David II were based.⁴ Clearly, however, this particular coin may simply have been a particularly heavy specimen of its type, since there are no others with which to compare it, and the weight on its own is not sufficient to contradict the visual evidence supporting the attribution of this coin to the second issue.

¹ I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, revised edition, London (1967), pp. 195 and 208; I. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', in *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays in Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R. A. G. Carson, London (1971), pp. 223–24.

² E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland*, Edinburgh (1887); C. H. Dakers, 'Notes on Scottish Coins: (1) Rex Scottorum

Pennies of David II', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* LXXII (1937–38), 122–24.

³ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 26.

⁴ Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage*, p. 208; 'Scottish Mints', p. 223.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF HENRY VII SOVEREIGN PENCE

MARTIN ALLEN

THE detailed analysis of Henry VII's coinage published by W.J.W. Potter and E.J. Winstanley has been the basis of all subsequent work on the subject.¹ Winstanley's classification of the 'sovereign' pence was founded upon the assumption that coins with no pillars in the throne (type I) were followed by coins with one pillar (type II), two pillars (type III), and two double pillars (type IV), in succession.² This simple scheme was first formulated by L.A. Lawrence.³ There is no reason to doubt that type I is the earliest, and that type IV is the latest. Lord Stewartby has suggested that type I was produced in 1489, before the first supply of dies to Durham, which is assumed to have followed an indenture of 20 September 1489.⁴ Type IV was produced at the London mint only, and D.M. Metcalf has associated this with the prohibition of pence in the provincial mints from 1499 to the end of the reign in 1509.⁵ Types II and III must be placed between types I and IV, but the assumption that the number of pillars infallibly indicates two successive issues should be

critically examined.

Winstanley believed that the two-pillar type III could be distinguished from the one-pillar type II by its use of new lettering of type E.⁶ The Potter and Winstanley lettering types were principally based upon the groat lettering, and in practice it is difficult to apply them to the smaller lettering of the pence, which is from different punches. The only unmistakable difference between lettering E and earlier lettering is the change from a Roman M to a 'Lombardic' M, but all of the Durham pence of types II and III have a Lombardic M in the mint's name. Lettering does not provide definitive evidence for the division of type II from type III.

Table 1 summarizes the type IIc and type IIb obverse dies used to produce the forty-three Durham pence of Bishop Richard Fox in the Ashmolean, British, and Fitzwilliam Museums. There seem to have been four successive supplies of obverse dies, each supply having a different ornament on the pillar or

TABLE 1: Durham obverse dies of types IIc and IIb

Ornament	No. of pillars	No. of dies	Total
Lis	1	5	6
	2	1	
Saltire cross	1	2	5
	2	3	
Cross	1	4	5
	2	1	
Rosette	1	4	6
	2	2	

Acknowledgements I have greatly benefited from the opinions and advice of Mr Jeffrey North, the Rt. Hon. Lord Stewartby, and Mr Christopher Wren. Dr J. D. Bateson of the Hunterian Museum, Dr Mark Blackburn of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Dr Barrie Cook of the British Museum, Mr Nicholas Mayhew of the Ashmolean Museum, and Mr Michael Sharp of A. H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd. have provided photographs of coins for study and illustration.

¹ W. J. W. Potter and E. J. Winstanley, 'The coinage of Henry VII', *BNJ* 30 (1960-1), 262-301; *BNJ* 31 (1962), 109-24; *BNJ* 32 (1963), 140-60. D. M. Metcalf, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Part III. Coins of Henry VII (SCBI 23)*, London, 1976) illustrates 971 coins catalogued in accordance

with the work of Potter and Winstanley.

² E. J. Winstanley, in Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 31, pp. 120-1. E. J. Harris, 'Varieties in the York "Sovereign" pence of Henry VII', *SCMB* April 1961, 137-8, described 100 coins, without attempting a classification.

³ L. A. Lawrence, 'On the coinage of Henry VII', *NC* 4th ser. 18 (1918), 205-61, at pp. 238-46.

⁴ I. Stewart, 'Problems of the early coinage of Henry VII', *NC* 7th ser. 14 (1974), 125-47, at p. 140.

⁵ Metcalf, pp. xix-xx, xxxviii-xxxix.

⁶ Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 30, pp. 267-8, 279-82 describe and illustrate lettering types A to E.

TABLE 2: Durham reverse dies used with obverse dies of types IIc and IIIb

<i>Initials</i>	<i>Associated obverse dies</i>	<i>No. of dies</i>	<i>Total</i>
Large DR	Lis	5	10
	Saltire cross	3	
	Saltire cross and cross	1	
	Cross	1	
Large RD	Saltire cross	1	5
	Cross	3	
	Rosette	1	
Small RD	Rosette	5	6
	Rosette and Henry VIII first coinage	1	

pillars: trefoils, saltire crosses, crosses, and rosettes. Six dies of each type may have been provided.⁷ Each supply included one- and two-pillar dies, invalidating the division between the single-pillar type II and the two-pillar type III.

The reverse dies used with the obverse dies in Table 1 have Bishop Fox's initials: DR or RD in relatively large lettering, c. 2.5 mm. high, or RD in smaller, c. 2 mm., lettering. There seem to have been two supplies of large DR dies, one supply of large RD dies, and finally one supply of small RD dies; each supply probably consisted of six dies, matching the number of obverse dies in batches of a dozen dies. Five large DR dies known only from coins with lis obverses were almost certainly supplied with the lis obverse dies. The second batch of large DR dies seems to have been supplied with the saltire cross obverse dies, and the large RD dies were probably accompanied by the cross obverse dies. Finally, the six small RD dies must have been supplied with the six rosette obverse dies. One of the small RD dies was used with a Henry VIII first coinage obverse die of Bishop Thomas Ruthall (pl. 11, 16), providing evidence of the late place of the

small RD and rosette dies.⁸

The evidence of the dies used at Durham supports Lawrence's assumption that the ornaments on the pillars of the throne indicate successive periods of production.⁹ Type IIa has trefoil ornaments, and arches on the seat of the throne, beside the king's legs. Similar arches appear on the sovereigns of Grierson's classes A and B,¹⁰ and on the sovereign groat (pl. 11, 6); the class A sovereign and the groat also have trefoil ornaments on their four pillars. Type IIb pence have trefoil ornaments, and an arched throne or the unarched throne normal on later pence.¹¹ Arched throne coins have Potter and Winstanley cross-ending 2 on the reverse, but some trefoil coins with unarched thrones have cross-ending 7, which appears on all later coins. The unarched throne trefoil type was superseded by the lis type, which is the earliest known for Bishop Fox, following his reopening of the Durham mint under an indenture of 20 January 1495.¹² One London reverse die used with a lis obverse (pl. 11, 11) has the pansy initial mark, the introduction of which has been dated to about the autumn of 1495 by Metcalf.¹³ After the lis type the London mint seems to have left the striking of pence to

⁷ Metcalf, p. xxix, states that the Durham coins of type IIb in the Ashmolean Museum are from eight obverse dies, and suggests that eight dies were supplied, but the illustrated coins (Metcalf, pl. xli, 724-31) are from only six dies. The two dies attributable to type Iii, applying the revised classification tabulated in Table 3, do not have a crozier to the right of the king, unlike the four dies of type 2. The two type Iii dies may have been supplied with the Ashmolean's two reverse dies having Bishop Shirwood's initials (DS) in relatively large lettering c. 2.5 mm. high. The four type 2 obverse dies may have been received with the Ashmolean's five reverse dies having smaller (c. 2 mm.) initials, in a supply of six obverse dies and six reverse dies. A sixth small initial reverse die is represented in the British Museum.

⁸ The reverse die evidently survived the closure of the Durham mint under the restraint of 1499, and was used after the reopening of the mint in 1510 discussed by C. E. Challis, 'The ecclesiastical mints of the early Tudor period: their organization and possible date of closure', *Northern History* 10 (1975), 88-101 *passim*.

⁹ Lawrence, pp. 243-4.

¹⁰ P. Grierson, 'The origins of the English sovereign and the symbolism of the closed crown', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 118-34, at pp. 122-6.

¹¹ Winstanley's notation implies that the cinquefoil initial mark coins of type IIa entirely preceded the unmarked coins of type IIb, but Stewart, pp. 139-40 has noted that this is not a necessary assumption. The presence or absence of the initial mark cannot be used to allocate the arched throne coins to two successive types.

¹² Metcalf, pp. xii, xiv-xv, xviii has proposed that the production of pence was suspended after type IIb, probably in 1490, and has used the indenture as evidence for a revival of production in 1495. It is more probable that only the Durham mint was closed, during the production of unarched throne trefoil coins in London and York. Stewart, p. 139, suggests that the Durham mint was closed from 1492, when the three-year term of its indenture of 1489 ended, until the implementation of the indenture of 1495.

¹³ Metcalf, p. xxxviii.

Durham and York, until its production of type IV during the prohibition of provincial minting of pence ordered in 1499. The Durham and York mints both received supplies of saltire cross and cross dies. Durham rosette obverses have lis sceptre heads from a distinctive broken punch with partly missing side fleurs, which is used in the royal arms on the reverse, and also appears as a throne ornament on York coins. The rosette and broken lis type was the last before the

restraint of the provincial mints. The London pence of type IV have lis ornaments from a new unbroken punch, and the earliest initial mark on them is the cross-crosslet, which was introduced in 1504.¹⁴ Production of type IV may have begun in 1505, to supply some of the pence required at the London exchange for clipped coins established by a proclamation of 27 April.¹⁵ Tables 3 and 4 summarize a revised classification, consistent with the evidence discussed.

TABLE 3: Revised classification

Type	Pillars	Ornaments	Sceptre head	Cross-ends	Remarks	Winstanley
li	none	none	lis	1	sceptre in left or right hand.	I
lii	none	trefoil ¹⁶	lis	2	sceptre in right hand, as on all later coins.	—
2	one	trefoil	lis or trefoil	2	arched throne; trefoil stops or none; cinquefoil initial mark on some London coins.	Ila and IIb
3i	one	trefoil	lis or trefoil	2 or 7	unarched throne; stops: trefoil, rosette or none; lis initial mark on London dies with rosette stops.	IIb
3ii	one or two	lis	lis	7	pansy initial mark on one London reverse die.	IIc–IIIf
3iii	one or two ¹⁷	saltire cross	lis or saltire cross	7		IIc and IIIf
3iv	one or two ¹⁷	cross	lis or cross	7	throne seat on some York coins ornamented with saltire crosses.	IIc and IIIf
3v	one or two	rosette or broken lis	broken lis	7	rosette stops on some obverse dies with broken lis ornaments.	IIc and IIIf
4	two double	lis	lis	7	saltire stops; initial mark: cross-crosslet, pheon or none.	IVa–IVc

TABLE 4: Summary of mint output

Mint	li	lii	2	3i	3ii	3iii	3iv	3v	4
Durham		x	x		x	x	x	x	
London	x		x	x	x				x
York	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	

¹⁴ Metcalf, p. xxxviii. The cross-crosslet initial mark dies of type IVb undoubtedly preceded the pheon initial mark dies of type IVc, but the assumption that the unmarked coins of type IVa were earlier than the cross-crosslet and pheon coins is questionable. Winstanley, p. 121, asserted that type IVa has lettering E or F, and that types IVb and IVc have lettering G, but I have been unable to confirm this. Only three of the lettering G letters (E, N, and R) illustrated from groats by Potter and Winstanley, *BNJ* 30, p. 289, are found on pence, and none of these differs from earlier lettering in ways that can be confidently identified on pence. Subdivision of type IV should be avoided until more secure evidence for the place of

the unmarked coins can be found.

¹⁵ P. Grierson, 'Notes on early Tudor coinage', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 80–94, at pp. 93–4, discusses the proclamation of 1505, which stipulated payment in 'onely golde [*recte* goode] pens of two pens and pens'.

¹⁶ One of the two known type lii obverse dies has trefoils in the positions later occupied by pillars; the other has one trefoil in a similar position, with a stalk that might be described as a very short pillar.

¹⁷ Some saltire cross and cross obverse dies have one double pillar, with or without another, single, pillar.

KEY TO PLATE 11

AM: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

BM: British Museum.

HM: Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

MA: author's collection.

1.	Type li.	Sceptre in the left hand.	York.	BM.
2.		Sceptre in the right hand.	London.	BM.
3.	Type lii.	Small DS.	Durham.	BM.
4.	Type 2.	Large DS.	Durham.	BM.
5.		Cinquefoil initial mark.	London.	AM.
6.	Period of type 2.	Sovereign groat, obverse.	London.	HM.
7.	Type 3i.	Rosette stops.	York.	BM.
8.		Rosette stops; lis initial mark.	London.	BM.
9.		Trefoil stops.	London.	BM.
10.	Type 3ii.	Large DR.	Durham.	MA.
11.		Pansy initial mark.	London.	BM.
12.	Type 3iii.		York.	AM.
13.	Type 3iv.	Saltire crosses on the seat of the throne.	York.	AM.
14.		Large RD.	Durham.	BM.
15.	Type 3v.	Rosette ornament; small RD.	Durham.	AM.
16.	Henry VIII first coinage obverse; type 3v small RD reverse.		Durham.	MA.
17.	Type 3v.	Broken lis ornament; rosette stops.	York.	BM.
18.	Type 4.	No initial mark	London.	AM.
19.	Type 4.	Cross crosslet initial mark as the X of REX.	London.	AM.
20.	Type 4.	Pheon initial mark	London.	BM.

AN EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SILVER HOARD FROM DOWNHAM, LANCS

B.J. COOK AND ADRIAN LEWIS

ON Sunday 12 April 1992 Mr Neil Berry of Blackburn discovered a hoard of thirteen silver coins while metal-detecting in a field between Downham and Sawley, not far from Clitheroe. He reported his find two days later to the Blackburn Museum, where a report was prepared for the local coroner. In the event the coins were not found to be treasure trove, but the coins were nevertheless purchased for Blackburn Museum from the finder, with the consent and participation of the landowners.

The coins were found close together, near to the route of the old road between Downham and Sawley, and not far from the remains of the packhorse bridge which formerly carried the road over Smithies Brook. The find consists of eleven coins of Edward IV and Henry VII (two groats, two halfgroats and six pennies), all of the twelve grain penny standard, plus a *double patard* of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–77) and a *chinfrao* of Alfonso V, King of Portugal (1438–81). The English coins had a face value of one shilling and sixpence, while the *double patard*

was legally current as a groat, and it has recently been suggested that Portuguese *chinfraos* might have circulated as halfgroats, in which case the whole group's value would have been two shillings.¹ One would not want to base much on the evidence of the weights of such a small group of coins, but for what it is worth, the six pennies have a mean weight of just 75 per cent of standard and range from 65 to 83 per cent; the halfgroats are 75 and 99 per cent of standard; and the three groats cluster reasonably closely to their mean of 95 per cent.

The latest coins present in the group are the two Henry VII coins, with one of the find's two halfgroats attributed to Archbishop Bainbridge, i.e. from December 1508. A deposit date in the first decade of Henry VIII's reign may be suggested, with the absence of the latter's own First Coinage issues not significant, considering their rarity. This deposit date, with the hoard's size and contents (particularly the *chinfrao*) aligns the find with a small group of similar hoards.²

Catalogue

Edward IV, First reign, light coinage (1464/5–70)

1. Penny, Durham, William Dudley (1476–83), D beside neck, nothing in centre of reverse³, wt: 0.56g.
2. Penny, Durham, William Dudley, D beside neck, D in centre of reverse, wt: 0.51g.

Second reign (1471–83)

3. Groat, London, type XIV, im small annulet, wt: 3.02g.
4. Groat, London, type XVI, im pierced cross with four pellets, wt: 2.91g.
5. Penny, Durham, Lawrence Booth (translated to York 1476), B beside neck and D in centre of reverse,⁴ wt: 0.62g.
6. Penny, Durham, William Dudley, D and V beside neck, D in centre of reverse,⁵ wt: 0.64g.
7. Penny (fragment), Durham, details uncertain, D in centre of reverse, wt: 0.52g.
8. Penny, York, George Neville (1465–72, 1675–76), G and key by bust, im illegible, wt: 0.65g.

Henry VII (1485–1509)

9. Groat, London, profile issue, regular type, im pheon (1507–9), wt: 2.88g.
10. Halfgroat, York, profile issue, im rose (1500–7), wt: 1.55g.
11. Halfgroat, York, profile issue, im martlet, keys below shield, wt: 1.18g.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1467–77)

12. *Double patard* as count of Flanders, wt: 2.92g.

Alfonso V, King of Portugal (1438–81)

13. *Chinfrao*, mint of Lisbon (Vaz 41)⁶, wt: 1.35g.

¹ For the *double patard* in English currency, see P. Spufford, 'Burgundian double patards in medieval England', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 110–17; for *chinfraos*, see B. J. Cook, 'Recent Tudor hoards', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 70–75.

² See Cook, 'Recent Tudor hoards', at p. 71.

³ This coin and no. 2 are presumably of type VII 2 (North 1604), with the quatrefoil to the right of the bust illegible.

⁴ This is presumably type XIII, XIV or XVa, with the trefoil by the bust obscured.

⁵ This and the following coin are both likely to be as North 1666, from local dies, with the im cinquefoil, and the V to the left of the bust illegible on no. 6.

⁶ J. Ferraro Vaz, *Livro das Moedas de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1973), p. 118.

A LISTING OF CROMWELL COIN TYPES

MARVIN LESSEN

CONSIDERABLE time has passed since the *Summary of the Cromwell Coinage* appeared in *BNJ* 35 (1966), and its *Supplement* in the *NCirc* of May 1976. This revised table lists the die-struck types currently known, with a minimum of description, except when there is some new information. The old numbering system has been retained, for better or worse, with the capital letter used to define a specific die group. The use of one or more lower case *italic* letters to replace the capital is new: they denote outright forgeries, from false dies, which retain an affinity to that group. A suffix 'a' or 'b' added to an overall sequence number shows an addition to the original list. The quantities known have not changed much, and will not be repeated, nor will the location, unless there is some significance or unique quality. 'Simon' coins mean dies by him, machinery by Blondeau, and both were involved in the manufacture. The edges on all of Simon's Commonwealth screw press coins were made by Blondeau's parallel bar Castaing-type of machine.

A1 'fifty shillings', 1656 Simon. gold. lettered edge, thick.

Reminiscent of French seventeenth century Briot and Warin lettered edge (though from segmented collars) piéfort mill silver patterns, produced as presentation pieces.

A2 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. gold. grained edge

A3 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. silver. grained edge

A4 20 shilling broad, 1656 Simon. silver. plain edge, thick (Hunter)

a4b 20 shilling broad, 1656 FALSE. gold. coarse grained edge,

121.4 gr, sg 18.12 (author). ex. Glendinning 26 March 1942 (53). A strange concoction, which seems to be struck, but from false dies somehow derived from the genuine coin; unrelated to the style or quality of j30.

B5 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. copper. plain edge

B6 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. gold. plain edge

B7 halfbroad, Dutch 1658. gold. grained edge

C8 halfbroad, Tanner 1656. gold. plain edge

C9 halfbroad, Tanner 1656. gold. grained edge

D10 halfbroad, Dutch/Tanner 1656. silver. plain edge

D11 halfbroad, Dutch/Tanner 1656. gold. plain edge

E12 crown, 1658/7 Simon. silver. lettered edge

E13 crown, 1658/7 Simon. gold. lettered edge

F16 crown, Dutch 1658. silver. lettered edge.

The writer reverts to his original opinion that the main punches were Simon's, especially the bust, considerably reworked in the dies.

F17 crown, Dutch 1658. silver-gilt. lettered edge

G22 crown, Tanner 1658. silver. lettered edge

G23 crown, Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge

According to an unpublished study of Tanner crowns by Collin Southern, the next two pieces were probably

struck by Yeo at the Royal Mint c.1779, specifically for the influential Dr William Hunter, at his request through Lord Cadogan. Southern also concluded that regular Tanner crowns may have been made even later than this period, especially those with the plain edge.

Ga24 crown Simon/Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge 664.5 gr (Hunter).

Ga24a crown Tanner/Tanner 1658. silver. plain edge 636.1 gr (Hunter)

H25 halfcrown, 1656 Simon. silver. lettered edge.

Apparently first 'issued', or at least first became public, 1 June 1657 (cf. *NCirc* July/August 1976, p. 275)

H25a halfcrown, 1656 Simon. lead. uniface obverse. 333.5 gr (author).

This shows a fuller extent of the die face and its beading than does any coin, and thus can only be a trial impression from the die itself, undoubtedly by Simon. The condition of the lead does not allow for any determination about the die pits/flaws always present on the silver coins, for they are not obvious here.

I26 halfcrown, 1658 Simon. silver. lettered edge

I27 halfcrown, 1658 Simon. gold. lettered edge

J28 shilling, 1658 Simon. silver. grained edge

J29 shilling, 1658 Simon. pewter. nine irregular sides.

A trial impression by Simon (British Museum).

j30 shilling, FALSE 1658. gold. grained edge.

Struck from false steel dies created from the genuine shilling, probably 19th-Century (2 known). This might also exist in other metals. The obverse die has survived (author). Of possible pertinence is lot 264 in the John Hall sale catalogue, Sotheby 28 February 1849, under Cromwell gold coinage, 'A Cast from the Shilling, by an old Forger named Singleton' to Taylor for £1.14.0.

j33a shilling, FALSE 1658. silver. grained edge.

96.72 gr (British Museum). From false dies of different style from j30, and not created from the genuine coin. Another in silver at 85 gr (author) has identical letter doubling, but different bifurcation. Perhaps the latter is cast but, if so, not from the BM specimen.

K34 shilling, Dutch 1658. silver. plain edge. thick or thin flan

(a uniface one at 188 gr was illustrated in Folkes).

K36 shilling, Dutch 1658. silver. grained edge

K38 shilling, Dutch 1658. copper. plain edge.

90.6 gr, badly struck (British Museum)

L39 sixpence, 1658 Simon. silver. grained edge

L40 sixpence, 1658 Simon. pewter. plain edge

M41 sixpence, Dutch 1658. silver. plain edge thick or thin flan

(possibly somewhat scarcer than originally thought)

M42 sixpence, Dutch 1658. silver. grained edge

N43 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 390

O44 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 391

P45 farthing, Ramage. copper-gilt. plain edge. chain border. Peck 392

Q46 farthing, Ramage. silver. plain edge. 52.8 gr (author). Peck 393

Q47 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 394

R48 farthing, Ramage. copper. plain edge. Peck 395

S49 farthing, FALSE. from Ramage punches '1651' copper. plain edge. Peck 396 (3 known).

This concoction is not classed as a 'forgery' at present, because it may have emanated from the Royal Mint at some time, in a manner analogous to the Tanner coins. Its origin and purpose are unclear.

Thus, a few items are added; casts, phantoms and those otherwise unaccountable are deleted (hence the missing sequential numbers); and a 'final' listing results, one that should be reasonably complete after so many years of recording, although obscure museum holdings could still contain unknown minor struck pieces. It might be thought wrong to contaminate the list with die-struck forgeries, or not to include the various casts that were misinterpreted in the past (and still are), but such was the decision. The plain edge pewter Dutch crown in the British Museum, once called F20, has not been included, because of the uncertainty

of its manufacture; it remains possible that it is a struck piece and not a cast. No normal thickness (thin) Dutch shilling, K35, has ever surfaced, so it has been deleted, leaving K34 to encompass the usual thick types ('two shillings') and any other plain edge coin of any weight. There are at least two different styles of pewter broads, but all are casts (formerly A4a).

Illustrations are provided (Pl. 12) for the following coins that have never been shown before: A4 (Hunter Museum photograph), a4b, B5, Ga24 (Hunter Museum photograph), H25a, J29, j30 and its die, jj33a (British Museum Polaroid), K38 (British Museum Polaroid), and Q46. The Wertheimer sale catalogue, Glendinning 1945, pictured j30, but it is repeated here in conjunction with its die. An enlargement of a portion of the pewter crown, previously listed as E14 and now removed as a cast, is interesting in showing the unusual cylindrical blobs or protrusions. All photographs were made between 1966 and 1978 and, unless otherwise noted, were by the author, regardless of the coin's present location. Data from Mr Southern have been incorporated where applicable. This paper is dedicated to the memory of my good friend, Dr Ralph Ockenden, who provided so much of the information in the early years, and continual encouragement thereafter.

PLATE 12



A4



a4b



B5



Ga24



H25a



J29



J30



K38



Jf33a



Q46



LESSEN: CROMWELL COIN TYPES

AN ARMORIAL TOKEN FROM 'BREADGATE'

R.H. THOMPSON

THE seventeenth-century token illustrated on Pl. 11 may be described thus:

Obv. Arms: Three crescents within a bordure ermine, on a canton a lion's head erased.

Rev. THOMASIREADERI·IN·IBREADGATIHIS·HALF PENNY

(a superscript E above the T of BREADGAT is possible but not confirmable).

Norweb Collection ex Seaby ex Hird ex Carthew. Die axis 180°. The style appears to date it to the mid sixteen sixties.

In the standard gazetteers there is no place-name resembling 'Breadgat', or rather 'Breadgate'. Nor is there an entry in the standard armories for any such arms borne by Reader, so no assistance was available there for the attribution of this token. It seems to have been first published from a *fair* specimen in the Frank Sedgwick collection of London seventeenth-century tokens (Spink Coin Auctions, no. 51, 16 April 1986, lot 9), where it is attributed to Bread Gate, unidentified, and described as 'of the highest rarity, previously unpublished as a locality'. No such locality, however, is to be found in reference works on London. The token was catalogued by Dickinson as London 393A, and in 1988 in explanation he quoted John Wetton's reference to the Three Horse Shoes tavern in Cheapside, presumably having taken the crescents in the arms for horseshoes: 'This may well have been on the corner of Bread Street, and there may have been a gate at the entrance ...' (*Yorkshire Numismatist*, 1 (1988), 57-9).

This was written in connection with the transfer of the token to London, but placed in the Norweb Collection to 'Bread Gate' in Yorkshire. Although that specimen derives from Ald. Horace Hird via Seaby (there is also a plaster cast of each side), the intended attribution is revealed by Ralph Nott's annotated copy of Williamson as a sub-locality 'Bread Gate' in York (Yorkshire 425A). A number of York street-names do indeed incorporate *-gate*, from Old Scandinavian *gata* - 'street'. However, the English Place-Name Society volume on the East Riding of Yorkshire and York offers nothing closer than *Bretgate*, an old name for Jubbergate. In 1988 Mrs R. J. Freedman, City Archivist of York, mentioned to Michael Dickinson two streets named *Bretgate*, but could offer no alternative spellings closer to 'Breadgate', nor the name Reader in the York Freeman's Roll for c. 1600-1700.

As regards alternative locations in the Danelaw, Miss Elizabeth Pirie, writing to the present writer from Leeds in 1984, had no success in tracing the name anywhere north of the Humber, nor any helpful variety of the name *Broadgate* in Lincoln. Other Danelaw names

considered inconclusively have been *Bridgegate* in Chester, *Bridge Gate* previously *Briggate* in Derby, *Briggate* in Leeds, *Bradgate* in Leicester, and *Bridge Gate* ward in Thetford.

Ultimately the token can be attributed through serendipity, while browsing through List & Index Society Vol. 221, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury parchment inventories post 1660 (PROB 4/1-6416). Inventory no. 629 dated 1670 is for Ann Cestfield *alias* Kestfield of Breadgate, Kent! Breadgate in Kent is evidently Bredgar, a village near Sittingbourne whose main claim to fame (apart from the Bredgar and Wormshill Light Railway) seems to be the hoard of Roman coins found in 1957, and that of fourteenth-century English gold coins found in 1940. Etymologically Bredgar is from *brad* - 'broad' and *gara* - 'a triangular piece of land', but by some mistake 'gar' was altered to the more familiar 'gate'. For example, in Richard Kilburne, *A Topographie or Survey of the county of Kent* (London, 1659), the entry for Bredgar is headed BREDGATE, continuing 'Bradgate, Bredgar ...'

The account of Bredgar in Edward Hasted, *The History and topographical Survey of the county of Kent*, 2nd ed. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), vi. 102-4, mentions the manor of Manns (a name preserved in the substantial residence Manns Place), which was held by Humphry Clarke, died 1608: 'He alienated it to Reader, who bore for his arms *Three crescents, on a canton a lion's head erased, all within a bordure ermine*'. Except that the bordure is not superimposed upon the canton, these are the arms on the token, so its attribution is confirmed. The arms exactly as they appear on the token turn out to be in Papworth (p. 602), but attributed to RIDER, Kent. Under the name Rider they also occur in Berry's *Encyclopaedia Heraldica* and in Burke's *General Armory*, so all these works require correction as to the name, as do Hasted, Berry, and Burke in extending the bordure over the canton (which would be a mark of cadency or illegitimacy). They do, however, supply the tinctures: *Azure three crescents argent within a bordure ermine, on a canton Or a lion's head erased gules*.

In the church, according to Hasted, there were several memorials of the Readers, as late as 1705; but from a brief inspection, courtesy of the churchwarden, on Harvest Sunday 1996, none are now visible. It is possible nonetheless to document more than one Thomas Reader from Joseph Meadows Cooper, *Canterbury Marriage Licences, second series* (Canterbury, 1894), cols. 820 and 1060. In 1629 there was a licence to Richard White of Milton near Sittingbourne to marry Sarah Reader of Bredgar.

daughter of Thomas Reader the elder of the same parish, whose consent was testified by his son Thomas Reader the younger. The latter might be (a) Thomas Reader of Bredgar, yeoman, a bachelor of about 32, who was licensed to marry Elizabeth Woolgate of Sittingbourne, a widow of about 33, on 11 July 1627; or (b) Thomas Reader of Bredgar, carpenter, a bachelor of about 26, who was licensed to marry Ann Kennard of Stockbury, a virgin of about 20, on 24 June 1633. For

this last entry Cowper's transcripts from the original registers, now in the Institute of Historical Research, actually give 'Bredgate'.

There is more that might be done locally to identify the token issuer, and to attempt to reconstruct his family. Nevertheless, quite enough has been found to attribute the halfpenny token of Thomas Reader in BREADGAT to Bredgar in Kent, as the first seventeenth-century token for that place.

THE MACCLESFIELD HOARD OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY GOLD COINS

PHILIP ATTWOOD

TWO cups containing 299 sovereigns and 152 half-sovereigns were uncovered by Mr Mark Andrew Russell on 4 May 1995 in the foundations of a demolished house at 98 Brock Street, Macclesfield, Cheshire.¹ The coins were declared Treasure Trove at an inquest held in Warrington on 20 October 1995, and submitted to the British Museum for inspection. They were subsequently returned to the finder, with the exception of two coins not previously represented in the Museum's collections: Victoria sovereign 1854 (raised WW), and Victoria sovereign 1871 (shield type), both indicated by an asterisk in the accompanying list.

The house in which the hoard was concealed was a workman's cottage on the east side of Brock Street, the second in a row stretching north from Cumberland Street. The site is within the medieval borough of Macclesfield, but in an area that was not built up until the dramatic expansion of the town in the first half of the nineteenth century.² Since the find was made, a new house has been built on the land.

The hoard had been placed in two brown stoneware cups, typical products of the north Midlands of the mid to late nineteenth century, which would have been available locally to the depositor.³ The cups had been placed below the quarry tile flooring, just to the east of the fireplace, in an alcove which had probably been closed in to form a cupboard.

The earliest coin in the hoard was dated 1824, and the latest 1878. It is notable that the latest sovereigns are from Australian mints: two of 1876 (Melbourne and Sydney) and one of 1878 (Melbourne). By contrast, although sovereigns were struck at the Royal Mint in

London in both years, the latest London sovereigns to have found their way into the hoard are two of 1874.⁴ Altogether, twenty (ie. about 7.2%) of the sovereigns were struck at Australian mints, but no Australian half-sovereigns were included.

All the coins showed signs of wear, with the earlier ones in a generally poorer condition. This suggests that the hoard was not built up over the years, but was drawn from current coins during or shortly after the year 1878. It is not unusual for hoards of this period to contain coins stretching back to the 1820s and beyond.⁵ Broadly speaking, the coins in the present hoard reflect mintage patterns over the years in question, with, for example, sovereigns of the high mintage years of 1853 and 1872 well represented, but, as one would expect, there is a generally higher proportion of coins from the later years. If the number of sovereigns of each year found in the hoard is expressed as a percentage of the mintage for that year, and the figures averaged out per decade, the proportions for the different decades for the London mint may be expressed as: 1 (1820s), 3.9 (1830s), 5.0 (1840s), 7.2 (1850s), 8.9 (1860s), 6.0 (1870s). The equivalent figure for the Australian sovereigns is 3.7. For the half-sovereigns, for the 1840s–1870s, it is 9.1, 14.0, 16.5, 23.8. At an average weight of 7.94 g for the sovereigns and 3.94 g for the half-sovereigns, the coins in the hoard were, as one would expect, slightly under weight.

The sum of £375 represented by the present hoard may suggest that it resulted from a single specific transaction rather than an emergency extraction of all available money.⁶

¹ The find was reported in the *Macclesfield Express*, 10 May 1995. The report contains a number of inaccuracies, including the statement that the sovereigns and half-sovereigns were found 'with some older and some foreign coins'. All the coins found in the hoard are listed here.

² For the expansion of Macclesfield, see C. Stella Davies, ed., *A History of Macclesfield* (Manchester, 1961), pp. 144–7, 171–2.

³ I am grateful to July Rudoe and David Gaimster for their comments on the cups, which have maximum diameters of 93 and 125 millimetres. The larger cup was broken during its discovery.

⁴ No sovereigns were struck in London in 1875 or 1877.

⁵ For example, the Laverstoke (Hants) hoard (1940) and the Blechley (Bucks) hoard (1941), which contained sovereigns and half-sovereigns of 1821–1876 and sovereigns, half-sovereigns and silver of 1816–1881 respectively (*NC* 6th series, iii (1943), 108).

⁶ Cf. the Ruscombe (Berks) hoard (1965), in *BNJ*, xxxv (1966), 205. The equivalent of £375 would today be in the region of £13,000, according to recent figures from the Bank of England.

CATALOGUE

George IV

Sovereigns (5)

London mint 1825 (1)
1826 (1)
1829 (1)
1830 (2)

Half sovereigns (3)

London mint 1824 (1)
1828 (2)

William IV

Sovereigns (6)

London mint 1832 (1)
1833 (1)
1835 (1)
1836 (1)
1837 (2)

Half sovereigns (1)

London mint 1835 (1)

Victoria

Sovereigns (288)

London mint shield type, small young head, raised WW,

1838 (3)
1839 (1)
1842 (6)
1843, wide shield (11)
1844 (5)
1845 (5)
1846 (6)
1847 (4)

Shield type, large young head, raised WW,

1848 (1)
1849 (4)
1850 (3)
1851 (4)
1852 (11)
1853 (16)

incuse WW

1853 (1)

raised WW

* 1854 (1)

incuse WW

1854 (3)

raised WW

1855 (1)

incuse WW

1855 (7)

1856 (9)

1857 (14)

1858 (4)

1859 (2)

1860 (8)

1861 (14)

1862 (8)

1863 (19)

1864 (23)

(no rev. die no. (16), rev. die no. 5 (1), no. 6 (2))

(rev. die no. 9 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 27 (1), no. 28 (1), no. 32 (1), no. 45 (1), no. 49 (1), no. 50 (1), no. 51 (1), no. 54 (1), no. 57 (1), no. 61 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 75 (1), no. 78 (2), no. 82 (1), no. 83 (1), no. 93 (1), no. 96 (2), no. 98 (1))

1865 (1)

(rev. die no. 32)

1866 (9)

(rev. die no. 9 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 26 (1), no. 51 (1), no. 61 (1), no. 66 (1), no. 69 (1), no. 74 (2))

1868 (8)

(rev. die no. 7 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 17 (1), no. 24 (1), no. 25 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 32 (1))

	1869 (18)	(rev. die no. 1 (1), no. 6 (1), no. 7 (2), no. 17 (1), no. 18 (2), no. 26 (1), no. 30 (1), no. 34 (2), no. 35 (1), no. 38 (1), no. 39 (1), no. 40 (2), no. 60 (2), no. 62 (1))
raised WW	1870 (2)	(rev. die no. 85 (1), no. 88 (1))
	1871 (2)	(rev. die *no. 17 (1), no. 47 (1))
	1872 (17)	(no. rev. die no. (5), rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 10 (2), no. 35 (1), no. 36 (1), no. 37 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 58 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 69 (1), no. 75 (1), no. 81 (1))
George & Dragon type	1871 (5)	(short tail, large BP (1), long tail, small BP (4))
	1872 (8)	
	1873 (2)	
	1874 (2)	
<i>Melbourne mint</i>		
Shield type	1872 (1)	
George & Dragon type	1876 (1)	
	1878 (1)	
<i>Sydney mint</i>		
Wreath type	1855 (1)	
	1862 (1)	
	1864 (1)	
	1867 (1)	
	1870 (3)	
Shield type	1871 (3)	
	1872 (3)	
	1873 (1)	
George & Dragon type	1873 (1)	
	1874 (1)	
	1876 (1)	
Half sovereigns (148)		
<i>London mint</i>	1842 (3)	
	1843 (2)	
	1844 (4)	
	1846 (2)	
	1847 (2)	
	1848 (2)	
	1849 (2)	
	1850 (3)	
	1851 (4)	
	1852 (2)	
	1853 (7)	
	1855 (5)	
	1856 (2)	
	1857 (1)	
	1858 (3)	
	1859 (8)	
	1860 (5)	
	1861 (6)	
	1863 (3)	(no rev. die no. (3))
	1864 (8)	(rev. die no. 9 (3), no. 12 (1), no. 28 (1), no. 30 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 36 (1))
	1865 (10)	(rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 9 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 15 (1), no. 33 (1), no. 36 (1), no. 37 (1), no. 38 (2), no. 52 (1))
	1866 (11)	(rev. die no. 5 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 15 (1), no. 16 (2), no. 21 (1), no. 27 (1), no. 29 (1), no. 31 (1), no. 32 (1), unknown no. (1))
	1867 (5)	(rev. die no. 3 (1), no. 10 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 14 (1), no. 21 (1))
	1869 (9)	(rev. die no. 1 (1), no. 8 (1), no. 12 (2), no. 13 (3), no. 16 (2))
	1870 (5)	(rev. die no. 3 (1), no. 33 (1), no. 43 (2), no. 45 (1))
	1871 (9)	(rev. die no. 6 (1), no. 8 (1), no. 9 (1), no. 11 (1), no. 12 (1), no. 13 (1), no. 39 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 57 (1))
	1872 (10)	(rev. die no. 45 (1), no. 65 (1), no. 112 (2), no. 135 (2), no. 255 (1), no. 293 (1), no. 378 (1), no. 380 (1))

1873 (6)	(rev. die no. 8 (1), no. 53 (1), no. 127 (1), no. 233 (1), no. 308 (1), no. 387 (1))
1874 (5)	(rev. die no. 24 (1), no. 32 (1), no. 38 (1), no. 44 (1), no. 45 (1))
1876 (4)	(rev. die no. 33 (1), no. 42 (1), no. 49 (1), no. 69 (1))

COIN REGISTER 1996

IN recent times we have all been made increasingly aware of the significance of single coin finds, partly because such finds are relevant to the solution of historical problems such as the regional pattern of coin circulation, and partly because of the number of rare types or completely new varieties which come to light in this way. It is desirable that single finds should be recorded promptly, accurately and in an organised manner.

The Coin Register is an annual listing, to which anyone having single finds to report from Britain or Ireland may contribute. Any Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coin will be eligible down to and including the 'Tealby' type of Henry II, but entries for Roman coins and for later medieval and modern coins will be restricted to those coins which are of particular numismatic merit. The essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from excavation sites may be included, if it seems likely that there would otherwise be considerable delay in publication.

The listing of Celtic coins in the Coin Register is carried out in association with the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford. Celtic material should therefore be sent in the first instance to Cathy King, c/o the Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PG. Other material should be sent to: E.M. Besly, Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NP. Potential contributors should contact either of the editors of *BNJ* with any queries about how to submit and set out material.

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Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CCI	Celtic Coin Index
M/d	Metal-detector
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record

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¹ This Coin Register includes 150 coins published by M. J. Bonser, part of the backlog of finds recorded by him in recent years. He wishes to acknowledge grants made by the British Academy and the UK Numismatic Trust for printing the

photographs. J. C. Moesgaard, who arranged them for publication, was employed on a grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

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Geographical Index

Abridge, Essex, 156
Acton, Suffolk, 334
Akenham, Suffolk, 90
Aldington, Kent, 94
Alford, Lincs., 86, 244, 313
Amersham, Bucks., 171
Amington, Staffs., 45
Ancaster, Lincs., 301
Arlesey, Beds., 296
Ash, near Sandwich, Kent, 60
Ashwicken, Norfolk, 290
Attleborough, Norfolk, 309
Aylmerton, Norfolk, 316
Aylsham, Norfolk, 187
Barham, Kent, 246
Barham, near Ipswich, Suffolk, 264

Barrington, Cambs., 28
Barton le Clay, Beds., 159
Bawburgh, Norfolk, 208
Beck Row, near Mildenhall, Suffolk, 72
Bedale, N. Yorks., 131
Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, Kent, 275
Bielby, Humberside, 74, 134, 136, 137, 280
Bishop's Stortford, Herts, 57
Blakeney, Norfolk, 347
Bolton Percy, N. Yorks., 97
Bosham, W. Sussex, 248
Boston, Lincs., 49
Bourne, near, Lincs., 300
Boxley, Kent, 305
Brackley, Nhants., 197
Bradenham, Norfolk, 292, 314
Braintree, Essex, 17, 25
Brandon, Suffolk, 252
Broadstairs, Kent, 7
Budbrooke, Warwicks., 284, 287
Burnham Market/Overy, Norfolk, 116
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, 140, 204, 206, 209-10, 262
Bylaugh, Norfolk, 257, 291
Caistor, Lincs., 19, 43, 46-8, 58
Caistor-on-the-Wolds, Lincs, 100, 163
Cambridge, 87, 176, 196, 200
Cambridgeshire, 69, 75, 104, 105, 109, 111, 182
Canvey Island, Essex, 149
Castle Rising, Norfolk, 285
Cawston, Norfolk, 353
Chelmsford, Essex, 271, 345
Chichester, W. Sussex, 12
Chiltern Hills, 152
Chrisall, Herts., 88
Clare, Suffolk, 22
Cliffsend, Ramsgate, Kent, 91, 115
Coddennham, Suffolk, 227
Congham, Norfolk, 36
Corpusty, Norfolk, 355
Cottingham, N. Humberside, 359
Cringford, Norfolk, 317
Croxtton, Hunts (Cambs), 168
Croxtton, Norfolk, 189, 265, 278, 323, 344, 349
Crundale, Kent, 6, 33
Darenth, Kent, 38
Dartford Crossing, Kent, 11
Deighton, N. Yorks., 326
Derringstone, Barham, Kent, 181
Desborough, Northants.?, 59
Doncaster, S. Yorks., 241
Donington, Lincs., 303
Dover, Kent, 16
Duxford, Cambs., 71
Eastbourne, E. Sussex, 261
East Dean, E. Sussex, 102
East Harling, Norfolk, 185
East Lutton, N. Yorks., 138
Eastry, Kent, 266
Edwardstone, Suffolk, 180
Elford, near Tamworth, Staffs., 160
Erlestoke, Wilts., 50

- Evenley, Northants., 20
 Exton, near Oakham, Leics., 191
 Fakenham, Norfolk, 76, 84, 112, 186, 212
 Farningham, Kent, 340
 Feltham, Norfolk, 34, 39, 52
 Fen Ditton, Cambs., 358
 Fineshade, Northants., 41
 Fingringhoe, Essex, 96
 Finningham, Suffolk, 114
 Gainsborough, Lincs., 143, 213, 238, 253, 259, 260, 281
 Gillingham, Kent, 198
 Godmersham, Kent, 9
 Great Chesterford, Essex, 8, 24, 29
 Great Mongham, near Deal, Kent, 119, 230
 Great Rollright, Oxon., 118
 Great Yeldham, Essex, 120
 Great Dunmow, Essex, 31
 Gunthorpe, Norfolk, 205
 Hadleigh Downs, near Canvey Island, Essex, 169
 Halstead, Essex, 85
 Ham, near Easby, Kent, 245
 Ham, Northbourne, Kent, 67
 Hants-Wilts-Dorset, 117
 Haverhill, Suffolk, 172, 282, 333
 Hayton, N. Humberside, 141
 Helperby, N. Yorks., 327
 Henley, Suffolk, 299
 Hertfordshire?, 27
 Heston, Greater London, 2
 Heybridge, Essex, 32
 Hindringham, Norfolk, 108, 165
 Hoath, Kent, 92
 Horseheath, Cambs., 243, 297
 Horton Kirby, Kent, 63, 77, 123
 Humberside?, 302
 Ightham, Kent, 78
 Ilketshall St Lawrence, Norfolk, 356
 Ipswich, Suffolk, 167
 Irchester, Northants., 61
 Istead Rise, Kent, 289
 Ixworth, Suffolk, 236
 Jersey, Channel Islands, 54
 Jevington, E. Sussex, 201
 Kelling, Norfolk, 82
 Kenninghall, Norfolk, 318, 331
 Kent, 62
 Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside, 107, 127, 133, 139, 148
 Kilverstone, Norfolk, 335
 Kirmington, Humberside, 40
 Kirmington, Humberside?, 144, 145
 Lewes, Sussex, 68, 101, 306
 Lincs/Notts, 154
 Liston, Essex, 21
 Little Barningham, Norfolk, 360
 Little Cornard, Suffolk, 26, 223
 Little Innage, near Mathern, Mon., 310
 London, Queenhythe Dock, 328
 London, Southwark Bridge, 211, 329
 Louth, Lincs., 199
 Ludford Magna, Lincs., 44
 Lympne, Kent, 161, 352
 Market Deeping, Lincs., 269
 Mattishall, Norfolk, 273
 Middleton, near King's Lynn, Norfolk, 184
 Mildenhall, Norfolk, 342
 Minster-in-Thane, Kent, 73, 231, 247
 Morley, Norfolk, 254
 Newton Flotman, Norfolk, 319
 Newton by Castle Acre, Norfolk, 312
 Norfolk, 219, 258, 279, 350-1
 North Creak, Norfolk, 192
 Northamptonshire?, 170
 Northbourne, Kent, 3
 Norton, N. Yorks., 98, 128-9
 Orpington, Greater London, 55
 Ovington, Essex, 274
 Oxborough, Norfolk, 225, 324
 Pentlow, Suffolk, 311
 Petham, near Canterbury, Kent, 65
 Pocklington, Yorks. (N. Humberside), 79, 130, 193
 Polegate, E. Sussex, 173
 Postwick, Norfolk, 337
 Quidenham, Norfolk, 93, 110, 122, 237, 250, 336, 338, 341
 Ramsgate, Kent, 35
 Reepham, Norfolk, 332
 Ricall, N. Yorks., 99
 Ringwould, Kent, 1, 4, 64
 Ripple, Kent, 15
 Rochester, Kent, 224, 330
 Rochford, Essex, 240
 Rocklands, Norfolk, 132
 Roudham, Norfolk, 188, 308, 343
 Roxton, Beds., 164
 Rudry, near Caerphilly, South Wales, 354
 Ryston, Norfolk, 286
 Ryther, N. Yorks., 66, 81
 Saffron Walden, Essex, 113, 293
 Santon Downham, Suffolk, 155, 294-5
 Sculthorpe, Norfolk, 89
 Sedgeford, Norfolk, 56
 Sellindge, Kent, 14
 Sherburn, N. Yorks., 142
 Smite, Worcs., 53
 Snettisham, Norfolk, 321
 Soham, Cambs., 183
 Southerndown, near Ogmore by Sea, South Wales, 348
 Southill, Beds., 228
 Spalding, Lincs., 42
 Sparsholt, near Wantage, Oxon., 270
 Sporle, Norfolk, 267
 St Albans, Herts., 203
 St Arvans, Monmouthshire, 320
 Stamford, Lincs., 95
 Stanford on Soar, Notts, 235
 Staxton, North Yorkshire, 135
 Steeple Bumpstead, Essex, 346
 Stevenage, Herts., 166
 Steyning, W. Sussex, 239
 Stratton, Beds., 151

Sturmer, Essex, 207
 Sutton Courtenay, Oxon., 18
 Sutton, Kent, 5
 Swaffham, Norfolk, 298
 Swallow, Lincs., 249
 Swineshead, Lincs., 124
 Tattersett, Norfolk, 121
 Tenby area, Pembrokeshire?, 325
 Tewkesbury/Gloucester, Gloucs., 103
 Thetford, Norfolk, 221–2, 233, 263
 Thompson, Norfolk, 190
 Thurlow, Suffolk, 30
 Tibenham, Norfolk, 150
 Tivetshall St Mary, near Diss, Norfolk, 251
 Uncertain, 177, 194, 288
 Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent, 218, 307
 Wallingford, Oxon., 162
 Walpole St Peter, Norfolk, 202
 Walsoken, Norfolk, 174
 Warlingham, N.E. Surrey, 215
 Warwickshire, 125
 Waxham, Norfolk, 37
 Wenham, Suffolk, 339
 Wereham, Norfolk, 283, 304
 West Acre, Norfolk, 322, 357
 West Hythe, Kent, 178, 179
 West Rudham, Norfolk, 195, 226, 268
 West Walton, Norfolk, 315
 Westerham, Kent, 106
 Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire, 80
 Whilton, Northants., 51
 White Roding, Essex, 23
 Whitfield, near Dover, Kent, 70
 Whitfield, Kent, 272
 Wighill, near Tadcaster, N. Yorks., 83, 146–7
 Wiltshire, north, 229
 Winchester, Hants., 158, 175
 Wingham, Kent, 220, 277
 Winterbourne, Berks., 13
 Woodnesborough, near Sandwich, Kent, 10, 126
 Wroxeter, Shropshire, 242
 Wye, Kent, 153, 157
 Wymondham, Norfolk, 255
 Yapham, Humberside, 256
 York, 216
 Yorkshire, 232

Celtic Coins

Note: As in 1995, large numbers of finds of Celtic coins were again reported during 1996. The list that follows is therefore selective, concentrating on the publication and discussion of rare and new types.

1. Imitation of stater of Philip II of Macedon (CCI 96.1685).
Obv. head of Apollo r.
Rev. two horses r. pulling *biga*; charioteer brandishing whip; head of Helios motif below horses.
 Weight: 7.4g.
 Ringwould, Kent. M/d find, 1996.

The type is discussed by D. Nash, *Settlement and Coinage in central Gaul* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 90–92, nos 227–232. It is a relatively late copy of the stater of Philip II, perhaps produced in the second half of the second century BC, somewhere in west central Gaul. Nash records only three provenances on the continent.

D.J.H./P. de J.

2. Gallo-Belgic, quarter stater, class BB2, VA 37–1, Scheers series 10 class IIc (CCI 96.3572).

Weight not available.

Heston, near, Greater London, Found c. 1976.

P. de J.

3. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, cf. VA 1402, cf. *BMCIA* 660 (CCI 96.2356).

Rev. MA.

Weight: 3.3g.

Northbourne, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

Although listed by VA as a north Thames coinage, recent finds have convincingly demonstrated that the so-called Thurrock potin is a Kentish production, the precursor to the flat linear type traditionally associated with Kent (nos 5–8 below).

D.J.H.

4. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, cf. VA 1440, (CCI 96.2307).

Weight: 3.7g.

Ringwould, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

A later issue of the Thurrock potin, with completely degraded reverse.

D.J.H.

5. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, cf. VA 108–3, cf. *BMCIA* 711 (CCI 96.2346).

Weight: 2.2g.

Sutton, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.J.H.

6. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, cf. VA 108–3, cf. *BMCIA* 711 (CCI 96.3172).

Weight: 1.7g.

Crundale, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

The reverse of this coin bears faint traces of the striations usually associated with Allen's class G (VA 112–119, *BMCIA* 698–704).

D.J.H./P. de J.

7. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, cf. VA 115–1, cf. *BMCIA* 698–704 (CCI 96.2286).

Weight: 1.9g.

Broadstairs, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.J.H.

8. 'Cantii', cast bronze unit, VA 136–1, *BMCIA* 715 (CCI 96.1764).

Weight not available.

Great Chesterford, Essex, M/d find.

Most provenances of the smaller, class II type potin such as this are from the north Thames region; their attribution is consequently open to debate.

M.J.C.

9. 'Cantii', quarter stater, new type (CCI 96.2276).
Obv. two parallel shallow bands, otherwise plain.
Rev. horse r., pellet in ring on chest, small pellet below tail; yoke-like motif (*BMCIA pellet-ring variant k*) above, alternating rings and pellet in ring motifs around.

Weight: 1.3g.

Godmersham, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

The close correspondence in style suggests that this quarter stater should be associated with the stater VA 162-1 (*BMCIA* 2449), perhaps of Dubnovellaunus.

D.J.H./P. de J.

10. 'Cantii', bronze unit of Amminius, VA 193-1 (CCI 96.2352).

Obv. AM.

Rev. DVNO.

Weight: 1.8g.

Woodnesborough, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.J.H.

11. Silver unit, new type, possibly of 'Cantii' (CCI 96.2901).

Obv. head l., cheek shaped as heart on its side, prominent pellets on stalks for lips, large triangular nose; sections of straight wreath immediately below and behind head. Surrounded by pellet in ring motifs with additional, uncertain decoration attached to each; further decoration beyond these motifs is mostly off the flan.

Rev. horse l., pellet in ring for head, large open mouth represented by plain lines; neck in two parts, plain line for mane; various pellets and simple pellet in ring motifs around, plus further examples of the complex pellet in ring motifs as seen on the obverse; the whole apparently surrounded by a simple wreath design.

Weight: 0.85g (incomplete).

Dartford crossing, Kent. M/d find by Mr B. Moldon.

Very similar in style to two other silver units from Kent, including one from Ebbsfleet published in *Coin Register* 1992, *BNJ* 62, no. 193. There are no obvious continental parallels for this coin, which is thus likely to be a Kentish type.

P. de J.

12. Silver unit, new type (CCI 96.1574).

Obv. head r., possibly with remains of helmet (as present on Belgic coins based on the head of Pallas Athena; Scheers, pp. 115-116).

Rev. horse r., pellet in ring for head, prominent muzzle; plain line for mane; bifurcated inner rear leg; tail extending upwards from rump then sharply downwards in zigzag. Lyre placed vertically below horse; wheel and ring above.

Weight: 1.36g.

Chichester, near, West Sussex. M/d find, 1996, by Mr C. Hall.

Probably based on a silver unit of the Aedui in central Gaul (LT XV 4958; *Catalogue of Celtic coins in the British Museum II* (1990), nos 426-428), perhaps with Armorican and/or Belgic influence also present.

Significant numbers of this type and related issues have been discovered in the Chichester region in recent years.

P. de J.

13. 'Atrebatas', silver unit, VA 262-1, *BMCIA* 580 (CCI 96.1348).

Weight: 1.02g.

Winterbourne, Berkshire. M/d find, 1996; information from Paul Cannon.

P. de J.

14. 'Atrebatas', quarter stater of Eppillus, VA 437-1, *BMCIA* 1130 (CCI 96.2272).

Obv. COM.F.

Rev. EPPI.

Weight: 1.2g.

Sellindge, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.J.H.

15. 'Atrebatas', silver unit of Eppillus, VA 442-1, *BMCIA* 1133 (CCI 96.2341).

Obv. IOVI[R].

Rev. EP.

Weight: 1.3g.

Ripple, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

The reading of the obverse legend is not certain. *BMCIA* has CO VIR, perhaps to be interpreted as Commius and Verica; VA has IOVIR, seemingly confirmed by this coin; but see also the following.

D.J.H./P. de J.

16. 'Atrebatas', silver unit of Eppillus, VA 443-1, *BMCIA* 1135 (CCI 96.3158).

Obv. FO VIR.

Rev. EPPI COM.F.

Weight: 1.3g.

Dover, near, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Parry, 1996.

The obverse legend clearly reads FO VIR, though most examples read CO VIR. The significance of these variations is uncertain.

P. de J.

17. British, stater, class E, VA 1462-1 var. (CCI 96.1757).

Weight not available.

Braintree, near, Essex.

The first example of the Waldingfield stater recorded in the CCI other than the eponymous coin, discovered in 1855. The two coins are not from the same dies.

M.J.C./P. de J.

18. British, plated stater, class LB, VA 1487-3, *BMCIA* 336 (CCI 96.3161).

Weight: 3.45g.

Sutton Courtenay, near, Oxfordshire.

C.E.K.

19. British, quarter stater, class LX4, VA 260-1, *BMCIA* 485 (CCI 96.1483).

Weight: 1.40g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

Likely to be a north Thames issue, *contra* VA. who also repeats the error of Mack (in turn copied from the Fitzwilliam *Sylloge*) that this is a silver type.

P. de J.

20. British, quarter stater, class LX4, VA 234-1, *BMCIA* 365 (CCI 96.0990).
Weight: 1.26g.

Evenley, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 1992.

No provenances are recorded from the south of the Thames, and the type is thus unlikely to be Atrebatie.

M.C./P. de J.

21. British, quarter stater, similar to stater class G, *BMCIA* 192 (CCI 96.2969).

Weight not available.

Liston, Essex. M/d find, 1996.

The type is discussed by P. de Jersey, 'A new quarter stater for British G?', *NCirc* 101 (September 1993), 236-237. Twenty-six examples are now recorded in the CCI.

J.N./P. de J.

22. 'Trinovantes', silver unit, VA 1558-1, *BMCIA* 376 (CCI 96.1768).

Weight not available.

Clare, near, Suffolk.

M.J.C.

23. 'Trinovantes' or 'Catuvellauni', silver unit, new type (CCI 96.3471).

Obv. uncertain beast r., its head turned back over its shoulder, confronting a snake curled in a spiral (here obscured by a die flaw); a smaller beast is present above the tail, a star with pellet in ring at its centre (*BMCIA star h*) below the tail; pellet in ring to right of the main animal's back leg.

Rev. horse l., pellet in ring on chest and rump; other pellet in ring motifs around, leaf (cf. *BMCIA leaf i*) below.

Weight not available.

White Roding, Essex. M/d find by Mr K. Pryke.

Full description is made possible by an unprovenanced unit from the same dies in the CCI. The coin's origins clearly lie in the eastern part of the north Thames region, but more precise attribution must remain uncertain.

P. de J.

24. Silver unit, of uncertain attribution, *BMCIA* 380 (CCI 96.1760).

Weight not available.

Great Chesterford, Essex.

Provenanced examples are recorded from Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Essex and Suffolk. There is some similarity to the Bury types, perhaps indicating an origin in the north of this area.

M.J.C./P. de J.

25. 'Trinovantes', stater of Addedomaros, VA 1605-1, *BMCIA* 2390 (CCI 96.1758).

Rev. legend almost wholly off flan.

Weight not available.

Braintree, near, Essex.

M.J.C.

26. 'Trinovantes', quarter stater of Dubnovellaunus, VA 1660-1, *BMCIA* 2442 (CCI 96.2592).

Weight not available.

Little Cornard, Suffolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.N.

27. 'Catuvellauni', quarter stater of Andoco, VA 1863-1, *BMCIA* 2015 (CCI 96.3488).

Obv. ANDO.

Weight: 1.36g.

Said to have been found in Hertfordshire.

M.J.C.

28. 'Catuvellauni', stater of Tasciovanus, VA 1780-5, *BMCIA* 1629 (CCI 96.3164).

Obv. TASCIO RIGON.

Weight not available.

Barrington, Cambridgeshire. M/d find by Mr K. Pryke.

P. de J.

29. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Tasciovanus, VA 1796-1, *BMCIA* 1661 (CCI 96.1761).

Obv. [V]ER[L].

Rev. TAS.

Weight not available.

Great Chesterford, Essex.

M.J.C.

30. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Rues, VA 1895-1, *BMCIA* 1693 (CCI 96.1771).

Obv. RVIIIS.

Weight not available.

Thurlow, near, Suffolk.

M.J.C.

31. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2049-1, *BMCIA* 1867A (CCI 96.1762).

Obv. CAMV.

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.24g.

Great Dunmow, near, Essex. M/d find, 1996.

M.J.C.

32. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2051-1, *BMCIA* 1868 (CCI 96.1763).

Obv. CVNO.

Rev. [C]AMV.

Weight: 1.17g.

Heybridge, Essex. M/d find, 1996.

M.J.C.

33. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2073-1, *BMCIA* 1894 (CCI 96.2275).

Obv. SOLIDV.

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.2g.

Crundale, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

Both provenanced examples are from Kent; this type may eventually be added to other issues of Cunobelin seemingly produced primarily for use south of the Thames (eg the bronzes VA 1973, 1989).

D.J.H.

34. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, *BMCIA* 1883 (CCI 96.3620).

Obv. CVNOBELINVS.

Rev. TAS[CH]OV.

Weight: 1.09g.

Feltwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

Sixteen examples now recorded in the CCI. The type has a distinctly western bias in its distribution.

M.A.S.B.

35. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, *BMCIA* 1898 (CCI 96.3185).

Obv. [C]VN[O].

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.3g.

Ramsgate, Kent. M/d find, 1996.

Another candidate for Kentish production and/or circulation (see no. 33). Provenanced examples are also recorded from Boughton Monchelsea (two coins) and Worth in Kent, 'north-east Kent', and Wanborough and Egham in Surrey.

D.J.H./P. de J.

36. British, stater, class JB, cf. VA 610-3, cf. *BMCIA* 218 (CCI 96.2985).

Weight: 5.40g.

Congham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

Minor variation in the decoration below the wolf.

J.A.D.

37. British, quarter stater, cf. *BMCIA* 3420 (CCI 96.2693).

Weight: 1.01g.

Waxham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

38. 'Iceni', pattern/horse symbol silver unit, VA 752-1, *BMCIA* 4297 (CCI 96.2267).

Weight: 1.3g.

Darenth, Kent. M/d find, 1995.

D.J.H.

39. 'Iceni', early face/horse silver unit, new type (CCI 96.3618).

Obv. bearded head 1., large oval for eye; line of pellets from forehead behind eye and ear separates face from hair, which is mostly unclear; pellet in ring at back of neck.

Rev. horse 1., prominent single ear, pellet mane; pellet within pellet ring in front; large, complex wheel and simple pellet in ring above.

Weight: 1.03g (incomplete).

Feltwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

This coin presents elements of both Bury and early face/horse types, but in a previously unseen

combination. The obverse is almost identical to a coin from Hunstanton published in Coin Register 1992, *BNJ* 62, no. 121, and also recalls some other rare early face/horse variants, similarly bearded (eg Vecchi 12.9.1996, lot 1018). The reverse is more at home with the Bury series, in particular class B, with which it shares the complex wheel above the horse (eg *BMCIA* 3534); the horse itself is very similar to that on the Bury types.

P. de J./M.A.S.B.

40. 'Corieltavi', stater, class B, VA 800, cf. *BMCIA* 185 (CCI 96.1486).

Weight: 6.05g.

Kirmington, Humberside. M/d find, 1989.

P. de J.

41. 'Corieltavi', stater, class D, VA 805-11, cf. *BMCIA* 208 (CCI 96.1032).

Weight: 5.84g.

Fineshade, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 1994.

M.C.

42. 'Corieltavi', stater, class L, VA 829-3, *BMCIA* 3186 (CCI 96.1686).

Weight: 5.17g.

Spalding, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr D. Wilson.

P. de J.

43. 'Corieltavi', stater, class M, VA 825-1, cf. *BMCIA* 3181 (CCI 96.1474).

Weight: 5.41g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

Clockwise spiral below horse.

P. de J.

44. 'Corieltavi', stater core, class M, VA 825-8, cf. *BMCIA* 3181 (CCI 96.1487).

Weight: 3.20g.

Ludford Magna, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 1995.

Anti-clockwise spiral below horse.

P. de J.

45. 'Corieltavi', stater, class N, VA 809-1, *BMCIA* 3146 (CCI 96.2694).

Weight: 5.46g.

Amington, Staffordshire. M/d find, 1996.

D.J.S.

46. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, *BMCIA* 3233 (CCI 96.1403).

Weight: 0.73g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

P. de J.

47. 'Corieltavi', silver half unit, class J, VA 862-1, *BMCIA* 3244 (CCI 96.1421).

Weight: 0.47g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bee.

P. de J.

48. 'Corieltauvi', silver half-unit, *BMCIA* 3255 (CCI 96.1424).

Weight: 0.50g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr M. O'Bea.
P. de J.

49. 'Corieltauvi', stater of AVN COST, VA 910-1, *BMCIA* 3258 (CCI 96.1488).

Rev. AVN [COS]T.

Weight: 5.26g.

Boston, Lincolnshire. M/d find, 1995.

P. de J.

50. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A/B, VA 1020-1 var., cf. *BMCIA* 2951 (CCI 96.1399).

Weight not available.

Erlestoke, Wiltshire. M/d find, 1990s.

The type falls uncertainly between Allen's classes A and B. The boss on the chin suggests B, though there is a vestige of reality to the bird's head beneath the horse which might point to A. Another coin is recorded from Erlestoke from the same obverse die, but with a reverse more firmly of the B type.

P.R./P. de J.

51. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class J, VA 1137-1, *BMCIA* 3005 (CCI 96.1051).

Weight: 1.06g.

Whilton, Northamptonshire. M/d find, 1994.

M.C.

52. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class M, VA 1175-1, *BMCIA* 3019 (CCI 96.3619).

Weight: 1.08g.

Feltwell, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

M.A.S.B./P. de J.

53. 'Dobunni', stater of EISV, VA 1105-1, *BMCIA* 3039 (CCI 96.2696).

Rev. EISV.

Weight: 5.40g.

Smite, Worcestershire. M/d find, 1996.

D.J.S.

Roman coins

54. Tetricus I (271-4), gold aureus, mint of Gaul.

Obv. IMP C TETRICVS P F AVG; bust laur., cuir., seen from front, right.

Rev. LAETITIA AVG N; Laetitia standing left holding wreath and rudder.

Weight: 3.84g. Die-axis: 0°

Jersey, Channel Islands. Found by Mr Monins.

Cf. B. Schulte, *Die Goldprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus* (Aarau, 1983), 14 (obv. die = Schulte 17; new reverse die).

R.F.B.

55. Carausius (286/7-93), base silver radiate, C mint.

Obv. IMP CA[]; bust, radiate, right.

Rev. LE[G II PARTH]; in exergue, MC; centaur walking left holding globe and rudder.

Orpington, Greater London; information courtesy of Julian Hay.

RIC 269-70 var. (not recorded with MC mint mark). The coin is poorly preserved and could be an imitation. (Not illustrated.)

R.F.B.

56. Carausius, base silver radiate, C mint, *RIC*-.

Obv. AVGVSTIS CVM DIOCLETIANO; jugate radiate busts of Diocletian, Maximian and Carausius, right; Diocletian (who appears foremost) has a cuirassed bust, seen from the front.

Rev. PAX AVGGG, S P // C; Pax standing left holding branch in r.h. and vertical sceptre in l.h.

Weight: 4.08g, corroded. Die-axis: 180°.

Sedgeford, Norfolk. Found while fieldwalking by Mr N. Cooke, Director of the Sedgeford Archaeological Project.

Two other examples with this obverse are known: 1) R.A.G. Carson, 'Carausius et fratres sui: a reconsideration', in *Studii Paulo Naster Oblata* I, edited by S. Scheers (Leuven, 1982), pp. 245-58 no. 8 from Oxford (same rev. type and probably same die, but different obv. die - Diocletian has a draped and cuir. bust, seen from the front); 2) *id.*, 'Carausius et fratres sui ... again', in *Melanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien*, edited by H. Huvelin *et al.* (Wetteren, 1987), pp. 145-8 from a private collection, now acquired by BM, 1996-12-1, 1 (same obv. die; rev. CONCORDIA AVGGG, // SPC).

R.F.B.

57. Theodosius I (379-95), gold solidus, Constantinople mint, *RIC* IX, 43.

Weight: not recorded.

Bishop's Stortford, near, Herts.

(Not illustrated.)

M.J.C.

Merovingian coins

58. Gold tremissis, Quentovic, moneyer Ela, Lafaurie, *RN* 1996, nos 9-21.

Obv. +ELA MONIT (N retrograde), head right.

Rev. +VVICVS FIT, cross on base.

Weight: reported as 1.3g.

Caistor, near, Lincs. M/d find early 1993.

Same obv. die as Lafaurie 20-21, same rev. die as Lafaurie 21 (and 20?)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

59. Gold tremissis, Rheims, moneyer Filamarius.

Obv. RIMUSFIT; bust right.

Rev. +FILARIMUNITAR; cross on steps.

Weight: 1.31g (20.2gr).

Found in button box of grandfather (who was farm labourer at Desborough, Northants) by Mr T. Simon. Shown at BM, May 1996.

G.W.

60. Gold tremissis, Maastricht derivative, with mounted

loop, MEC I.497.

Obv. +TFIC/CTOS (F, Cs and S retrograde).

Rev. TSTISTCHCTN(triangle)O (second S horizontal, Cs retrograde).

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr), including loop, weak striking, worn. Appears to be fine gold. Die-axis: 180°.

Ash, near Sandwich, Kent, N. of the A257 at Gilton. M/d find May 1991. Same dies as MEC I.497.

M.J.B./D.C.

61. Silver denier, Belfort 5723-31 var., cf. 5756 and 6679 (obv.)/5723 (rev.)

Obv. head right, cross in front.

Rev. latin cross in circle, which is open at the bottom, with ends in volutes.

Weight: not recorded. Fairly base metal.

Irchester, Nhants. M/d find October 1992.

Several recent finds in Normandy (two in spoil from Rouen building sites about 1975, one at Val-de-Reuil, Eure) suggest that this type may be from N.W. France. Another specimen of a similar type was found near Bicester, Oxon (CR 1991, no. 106).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

Sceattas

62. Sceat, Series A, type 2a, Rigold A2, North 40.

Obv. []IC, bust right.

Rev. standard.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Kent, exact findspot unknown. M/d find before October 1988.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

63. Sceat, Series A, type 2a, Rigold A3, North 40.

Obv. []TIC, head right.

Rev. standard.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Horton Kirby, near Farningham, Kent, same site as nos 77, 123 and BNJ 1987, p. 128, no. 39, published as 'near Farningham' (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find January 1990.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

64. Sceat, Series A, type 2a, Rigold A3, North 40.

Obv. TIC, bust to the right.

Rev. standard.

Weight: 1.22g (18.9gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Ringwould, near Walmer, Kent. M/d find June 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

65. Sceat, Series A, 'TIC'.

Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr).

Petham, near Canterbury, Kent. Found by Mr R. Allen, spring 1996.

G.W.

66. Sceat, Series A, BMC 2a.

Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr).

Ryther, North Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Pickles, July 1996.

C.P.B.

67. Sceat, Series B1B, BMC 27a, North 125.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Ham, Northbourne, Kent. M/d find by Mrs M. Reid, January 1996.

D.J.H.

68. Sceat, Series B, type 27b, Rigold BII, North 127.

Obv. [](VHA?) [], head right.

Rev. []AVA [], bird on cross within a snake.

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr). Die-axis: c. 180°.

Lewes, near, Sussex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1991.

Same dies as CR 1994, no. 118 and BNJ 1960-61, pl. 3, BII, 11/i.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

69. Sceat, Series B, type 27b, North 126, Rigold BII var. without cross on reverse (BII, 3, on which see comment of Metcalf, *T&S*, p. 98).

Obv. []VA [], head right within a snake.

Rev. []IHVA(?) [], bird on cross within a snake border, without cross in front of bird.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

South Cambs. (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find early 1992.

Dies not recorded in Rigold, BNJ 1960.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

70. Sceat, Series BZ, type 29b, North 131.

Obv. pseudo-legend, facing head.

Rev. pseudo-legend, bird to the right on cross.

Weight: 1.19g (18.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Whitfield, near Dover, Kent. M/d find before December 1992.

Perhaps same obv. die as Metcalf, *T&S*, no. 139.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

71. Sceat, Series C, type 77a, Rigold R1a, Metcalf C1, Blackburn A, North 161.

Obv. 'æpa' (runic), bust to right.

Rev. standard, with fan tail above.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5g).

Duxford area, Cambs. M/d find November 1991.

Same reverse die as Metcalf, *T&S*, no. 118. See M.A.S. Blackburn, 'A survey of Anglo-Saxon and Frisian coins with Runic Inscriptions', in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, edited by A. Bammesberger (Heidelberg, 1991), pp. 137-89.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

72. Sceat, Series C, type 77a, Rigold R1a inverted, Metcalf C1 inverted, Blackburn B, North 161.

Obv. 'æpa' (runic), bust to the right.

Rev. standard, with fan tail below.

Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Beck Row, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. M/d find in or before 1994.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

73. Sceat, Series C, BMC 2b.

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Minster-in-Thanel, Kent. M/d find by Mr T. Beale, February 1996.

The only identifiable letter on the obverse is P, which is clearly reversed. The coin is likely to be imitative.

D.J.H.

74. Sceat, Series C.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).

Bielby, Humberside. M/d find by S. Hodgson, April 1996.

C.P.B.

75. Sceat, Series D, type 2c, North 163.

Obv. bust right; runic legend partly off flan.

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross with pellets in the angles.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 270°.

South Cambs. (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find early 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

76. Sceat, Series D, variety of type 2c, North 168-9.

Obv. crude devolved bust.

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross with pellets in the angles.

Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Fakenham, near, Norfolk, same village as no. 186 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

77. Sceat, Series D, type 8, North 50.

Obv. devolved standard.

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross and pellets.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Horton Kirby, near Farningham, Kent, same site as nos 63, 123 and *BNJ* 1987, p. 128, no. 39, published as 'near Farningham' (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find early 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

78. Sceat, Series D, type 8, North 50.

Obv. devolved standard.

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross and pellets.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Ightham, near Wrotham, Kent. M/d find early 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

79. Sceat, Series D, type 8, North 50.

Obv. devolved standard.

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross with pellets in two angles.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr).

Pocklington, Yorks (N. Humberside). M/d find June 1993.

From the same rev. die as CR 1987, nos 51-52.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

80. Sceat, probably Series D, type 8, North 50.

Obv. devolved standard?

Rev. pseudo-epigraphy, cross with pellets in angles.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded. Very debased, corroded.

Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire. M/d find December

1991.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

81. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 8.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

Ryther, North Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Pickles, October 1996.

C.P.B.

82. Sceat, Series D, 'Continental Runic' type.

Weight: 1.10g (16.9gr).

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, August 1996.

J.A.D.

83. Sceat, Series E, type 4-5, variety G1 (*BNJ* 1987), North 45.

Weight: 1.17g (18.1gr).

Wighill, near Tadcaster, N. Yorks. M/d find December 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

84. Sceat, Series E, type 4-5, North 45, variety G3 (*BNJ* 1987, p. 100).

Weight: not recorded.

Fakenham, near, Norfolk, same village as nos 112 and 212 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before December 1989.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

85. Sceat, Series E, type 4-5, North 45, VICO-variety 1 (Metcalfe, *T&S*, p. 212).

Rev. standard with the letters VICO

Weight: not recorded.

Halstead, near, Essex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find December 1990 in earth disturbed by field drainage.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

86. Sceat, Series E, type 4-5, secondary variety, North 45. Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).

Alford, near, Lincs, same village as no. 313 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1991.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./T.C.

87. Sceat, Series E, Stepped Cross type, type 53, North 150.

Rev. stepped cross with pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.17g (18.1gr).

Cambridge, near, Cambs. M/d find September 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

88. Sceat, Series E, 'porcupine'.

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).

Chrisall, near, Herts. Found by Mr M. Fleming, April 1996.

G.W.

89. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).

Sculthorpe, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

90. Sceat, Series E, variety G3, North 45.

Weight: 1.19g (18.4gr).

Akenham parish, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find, 1996.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

91. Sceat, Series E, variety G4.

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr).

Cliffsend, Ramsgate, Kent. M/d find by Mr K. Rericha, August 1996.

Same obverse die as Metcalf, *T&S*, 205.

D.J.H.

92. Sceat, Series E, variety J ('plumed bird'). *BMC* 6, North 49.

Weight: 1.1g (17gr), chipped.

Hoath, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Brown, September 1996.

D.J.H.

93. Sceat, Series E, 'plumed bird' variety.

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr).

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

94. Sceat, Series E, secondary, Frisian.

Weight: 1.0g (15.5gr). Die-axis: 135°.

Aldington, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Sinclair.

D.J.H.

95. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety, Lower Rhineland.

Obv. 'porcupine', with three bars, five pellets and a v within curve.

Rev. standard with cross, v, i, o, and two pellets.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).

Stamford, near, Lincs. M/d find reported by John Ogden, 1996.

M.A.S.B.

96. Sceat, derivative of Series D or E, novel type.

Obv. standard with four bars and pearled annulet, in outer border possibly one fantail and three crosses.

Rev. abstract design composed of cross pommée, pearled annulet, crescent, right-angle and various pellets.

Weight: 1.12g (17.3gr).

Fingringhoe parish, Essex (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 20 November 1995.

We are not aware of a close parallel for this strange coin. The combination of a standard and a geometric design brings Series D, type 8 to mind, but the decorative elements are more like those found on some of the secondary 'porcupine' types. The reverse appears to be bounded by a pearled outer circle, suggesting that the design as we see it is correctly centred. It is presumably a derivative probably inspired by later coins of Series E, but whether it is of Continental or English origin we cannot tell.

(Illustration scale 2.2:1).

M.A.S.B./J.N.

97. Sceat, Series F, type 24a, North 61-2 var. (disposition of annulets), Metcalf, *T&S*, p. 130, group d.

Obv. crude bust right.

Rev. cross on steps with three large annulets at the end of the arms.

Weight: not recorded.

At or near Bolton Percy, N. Yorks. M/d find April 1990.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

98. Sceat, Series G, type 3a, North 43.

Obv. bust right, cross? in front.

Rev. standard with four crosses.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Norton, near, N. Yorks, same field as nos 128-9 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

99. Sceat, Series E, var. G4, 'porcupine'.

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).

Ricall, North Yorkshire. M/d find by W. Robinson, May 1996.

C.P.B.

100. Sceat, Series J, type 37, North 135.

Obv. two heads facing each other.

Rev. four birds around cross.

Weight: not recorded.

Caistor-on-the-Wolds, near, Lincs. M/d find 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

101. Sceat, silver-plated, Series J, type 72, North 141.

Obv. two heads facing, cross between them.

Rev. bird right looking back at serpent.

Weight: 0.81g (12.5gr), the plating is very thick; the base core only appears on a small edge chip. Die-axis: 40°.

Lewes, near, Sussex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find January 1992.

Type 72 is usually very base, but the specimen at Cardiff (Lockett 252) is plated as this is.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

102. Sceat, silver-plated on copper core, Series J, type 85, type BIIIB, imitation or contemporary forgery.

Obv. head right.

Rev. bird to right on cross, flanked by annulets.

Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr). Die-axis: 90°.

East Dean, near, E. Sussex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

103. Sceat, plated, Series K, type 32a, North 86, close to *BNJ* 1967, pl. 7, 14, style AB.

Obv. bust right, holding cross.

Rev. wolf curled clockwise, probably with legs depicted.

Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr).

Between Tewkesbury and Gloucester, Gloucs (more

precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1991-2.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

104. Sceat, Series K, type 42, Metcalf b/iii, North 100. *Obv.* bust right with bird on shoulder, its head turned back.

Rev. hound left looking back at plant.

Weight: 0.80g (12.3gr). Die-axis: 100°.

'S.E. Cambs.', same site as nos 105 and 111. M/d find April 1994.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

105. Sceat, Series K, type 42, Metcalf a/ii, North 101 var. (with flower instead of cross).

Obv. bust right holding flower.

Rev. hound left looking back at plant.

Weight: 1.05g (13.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.

'S.E. Cambs.', same site as nos 104 and 111. M/d find May 1994.

Same reverse die as Metcalf, *T&S*, nos 311-12.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

106. Sceat, Series K-L, *BMC* 20/18.

Weight: 0.8g (12gr). Plated coin, obverse damaged. Die-axis: 0°

Westerham, Kent. M/d find by Mr S. Wicks, May 1996.

D.J.H.

107. Sceat, series N, *BMC* 41b.

Weight: 0.93g (14.3gr).

Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside. M/d find by S. Hogarth, November 1996.

C.P.B.

108. Sceat, Series N, type 41, North 99.

Obv. two men standing, facing each other, a cross in-between.

Rev. monster left, looking backwards.

Weight: 0.60g.

Hindringham, Norfolk (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before December 1989.

Illustrated in Metcalf, *T&S* III, p. 464. From the same dies as a coin found near Malton, N. Yorks (to be published).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

109. Sceat, Series O, type 57, North 114.

Obv. bust right, in wreath.

Rev. dragon left looking back.

Weight: 0.88g (13.6gr). Die-axis: not recorded.

South Cambs. M/d find 1994. This specimen is closest in style to *SCBI* Glasgow 118.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

110. Sceat, Series Q1.

Weight: 0.33g (5.1gr), half coin only.

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, September 1996.

J.A.D.

111. Sceat, Series R, type 77b, Metcalf R4, North 157.

Obv. 'epa' (runic, 'a' lacking lower stroke), bust right, annulet behind bust.

Rev. devolved standard.

Weight: 0.86g (13.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

'S.E. Cambs', same site as nos 104-5. M/d find May 1994.

The style of the bust and the reverse is very close to that of Metcalf R3, but the absence of an X before the moneyer's name and the decoration behind the head make it class R4. The two classes are regarded as sequential.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

112. Sceat, Series R/type 51 mule, North 159.

Obv. bust with beaded pyramidal neck right, in front 'epa' in runes.

Rev. small standard with saltire cross and tufas on each side.

Weight: not recorded.

Fakenham, near, Norfolk, same village as nos 84 and 212 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before December 1989.

The obverse is based on Metcalf's variety R4. The reverse with tufas on each side is reminiscent of *SCBI* Glasgow 13, although the standard here is smaller and neater.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

113. Sceat, Series R derived, type 51, North 53.

Obv. two figures, right-hand one in profile, with three crosses, the central one on a 'V'-base.

Rev. saltire standard.

Weight: 1.05g (16.2gr), good silver.

Saffron Walden, near, Essex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find January 1990.

Same obverse die as Metcalf, *T&S*, no. 433.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./T.C.

114. Sceat, Series R, late devolved standard type; base metal.

Obv. no detail visible.

Rev. standard; double border.

Weight: 1.51g (23.3gr).

Finningham, Suffolk. Found by S. West, August 1995.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

115. Sceat, Series K, *BMC* 32a. C-D group, imitative and plated.

Weight: 0.9g (14gr). Die-axis: 135°.

Cliffsend, Ramsgate, Kent. M/d find by Mrs S. Horn, August 1996.

D.J.H.

116. Sceat, Series Va.

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr).

Burnham Market/Overy, Norfolk. site 18496. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

117. Sceat, Series V, type 7, Metcalf V2, North 120.
Obv. wolf right, head turned back, suckling twins.
Rev. bird on vine, berries in drooping clusters.
 Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
 In the Hants-Wilts-Dorset border area. M/d find before August 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

118. Sceat, Series V, type 7, Metcalf V3, Kent?, c. 720.
Obv. wolf and twins, cross of four pellets between them; small wolf's head, looking backwards.
Rev. bird in vine, beak closed, many berries and buds.
 Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr), some incrustation adhering.
 Die-axis: 180°.
 Great Rollright, near, Oxon., c. 1930. A stray find made by the uncle of the present owner, Mr Paul Warrilow, who was given the coin in the 1970s. It was found close to 'Whispering Knights', by the Rollright Stones. There is an Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the adjoining field (SP 229 309); see G. Lambrick, *The Rollright Stones* (Oxford, 1983), p. 3. The coin remained unidentified until 1995.

M.A.S.B.

119. Sceat, Series X, type 31, Barrett A var. (different beard)/f, North 117 (but pl. 1, 51, said to be North 116), Metcalf, *T&S*, cf. nos 279 (*obv.*) and 277 (*rev.*).
 Weight: 1.00g (15.5gr), good silver. Die-axis: 320°.
 Great Mongham, near Deal, Kent. M/d find June 1991.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

120. Sceat, Series X, type 31, Barrett A/g, North 117 (but pl. 1, 51, said to be North 116), Metcalf, *T&S*, no. 278.
 Weight: 0.60g (9.3gr), edge chip, quite base.
 Great Yeldham, Essex (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find December 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

121. Sceat, Series X, BMC 31, 'Woden/monster' type; Frisia or Denmark.
 Weight: 1.00g (15.4 gr). Die-axis: 270°.
 Tattersett, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

122. Sceat, 'Carip eclectic' group, cf. *T&S* III, p. 420 bottom r.
Obv. profile head to r., C [] in front of face.
Rev. man standing to r., holding cross at r.; behind him, a flower.
 Weight: 0.93g (14.3gr).
 Quidenham, Norfolk, site 10792. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

123. Sceat, Series -, type -, 'Fox' type, Metcalf, 'Animal Mask eclectic group', *T&S*, pp. 446-8.
Obv. 'fox' facing with neck on the left, and five annulets containing a pellet around.
Rev. bird right, cross in front.
 Weight: 0.99g (15.3 gr) after cleaning, 1.01g before cleaning. Die-axis: 270°.

Horton Kirby, near Farningham, Kent, same site as nos 63, 77 and *BNJ* 1987, p. 128, no. 39, published as 'near Farningham' (precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find October 1990.

This coin clearly shows the 'fox's' neck on the left, i.e. it is facing right but looking front. The reverse type is only known from one other specimen, found at Cheriton, Hants (CR 1995, no. 99). Both are illustrated and discussed in Metcalf, *T&S*, p. 448.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./T.C.

124. Sceat, Series -, degraded 'Ver'-type, *MEC* I. 690A; Blackburn and Bonser, 'A derivative of the Ver group intermediate sceattas found at Springfield, Essex', Hill and Metcalf (ed.), *Sceattas in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 229-31; Metcalf, *T&S*, p. 146, b-d.

Obv. degraded head left.

Rev. standard, with two Ls and two bars.

Weight: 1.24g (19.1 gr). Die-axis: c. 140°.

Swineshead, near, Lincs (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

125. Sceat, Series -, North -, *BNJ* 1986, p. 77, no. 47, Metcalf, *T&S*, pp. 138-9 (derived from nos 143-5).

Obv. cross above lines.

Rev. cross with 3 pellets in the angles.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr).

Warwickshire, at a village between Coventry and Nuneaton, near the A5 (further information recorded confidentially). M/d find 1991. Sold Spink.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

126. Northumbria, Aldfrith (685-704), 'sceat', North 176.

Obv. [AL]DFRIDVS (S retrograde).

Rev. quadruped left.

Weight: 0.9g (14gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Woodnesborough, near Sandwich, Kent. M/d find by Mr M. Hacking, October 1995.

D.J.H.

127. Northumbria, Eadberht (737-58), silver sceat, group Ai.

Identified from photos; not weighed.

Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before October 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

128. Northumbria, Eadberht, North 177, Booth (BAR Br. ser. 128, p. 75) class A.

Obv. 'EADBERHTV', cross.

Rev. fantastic quadruped to right.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Norton, near, N. Yorks, same field as nos 98 and 129 (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

129. Northumbria, Eadberht, North 177, Booth class A.
Obv. EADB[]hTVΓ, cross.
Rev. fantastic quadruped to right.
 Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
 Norton, near, N. Yorks, same field as nos 98 and 128
 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d
 find 1992.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

130. Northumbria, Eadberht, North 178, Booth class B,
 var. with letters on rev.
Obv. EOTBEREHTVΓ, cross.
Rev. fantastic quadruped to left, retrograde R above, A
 below.
 Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
 Pocklington, near, Yorks (N. Humberside). M/d find
 June 1993.
 Photo slightly out of scale.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

131. Northumbria, Alhred (765–74), sceat, North 179.
 Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).
 Bedale, North Yorkshire. M/d find by K. Simmons,
 before August 1996.

C.P.B.

Stycas

132. Northumbria, base stycas, irregular, mid-9th
 century; cf. Pirie 1835–6.
Obv. +VEIRV (retrograde).
 Weight: 0.64g (9.9gr).
 Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, 1995.
 Identified by Miss E.J.E. Pirie.

J.A.D.

133. Northumbria, base silver stycas, Æthelred I, first
 reign, phase Ia, 5/5, moneyer Ceolbald.
 Identified from photographs; not weighed.
 Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside. M/d find by S.
 Reynolds, October 1996.
 (Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

134a–b. Northumbria, base silver stycas, Eanred, Ia,
 moneyer Huaetred fused to Archbishop Eanbald II, Ia,
 moneyer Earduulf.
 Total weight: 1.80g.
 Bielby, Humberside. M/d find by S. Hodgson,
 February 1996.

C.P.B.

135. Northumbria, base stycas, Reduulf, phase II, group
 Ci, moneyer Cudbereht.
 Staxton, Scarborough, North Yorkshire. M/d find by D.
 Kettlewell, before May 1996.

C.P.B.

136. Northumbria, Æthelred II, second reign; base
 stycas, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Earduulf.
 Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr).

Bielby, Humberside. M/d find by M. Phelps, January
 1996.

C.P.B.

137. Northumbria, Æthelred II, second reign; base
 stycas, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Earduulf.
 Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr).

Bielby, Humberside. M/d find by S. Hodgson, May
 1996.

C.P.B.

138. Northumbria, Æthelred II, second reign; base
 stycas, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Earduulf.
 Weight: 0.78g (12.0gr).

East Lutton, North Yorkshire. M/d find by K. Umpleby,
 before August 1996.

C.P.B.

139. Northumbria, base stycas, Æthelred II, irregular
 phase II, group D, moneyer Monne.
 Weight: 0.91g (14.0gr).
 Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside. M/d find by S.
 Reynolds, February 1996.

C.P.B.

140. Northumbria, Æthelred II, stycas, North 188 or
 190, blundered moneyer's name.

Obv. +EDLIRE RE, cross formed of five pellets.
Rev. +AAI'E (three pellets) Stc, cross.
 Weight: not recorded. Die-axis: 270°.
 Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk, see note under 204
 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d
 find before March 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

141. Northumbria, stycas, Æthelred II (?), moneyer
 uncertain.

Obv. +ED[]RED[], design uncertain.
Rev. [], cross and pellets in pelletted circle. The
 damage and corrosion make the legends difficult to
 read.
 Weight: 0.57g (8.8gr).

Hayton, N. Humberside. M/d find 1989.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./T.C.

142. Northumbria, base stycas, irregular, phase II, group
 Dii.

Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr).
 Sherburn, Scarborough, North Yorkshire. M/d find by
 D. Hopper, before March 1996.

C.P.B.

143. Northumbria, stycas, ruler and moneyer uncertain.
?Obv. [](retrograde R)[], pellet within circle of pellets
 in centre.

?Rev. []V(retrograde R)[]
 Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr).
 Gainsborough, near, Lincs, from same site as no. 260
 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d
 find before March 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

144. Northumbria, styca, irregular with blundered obv. legend, moneyer Monne?
Obv. []N(or V)AETVA, cross.
Rev. +MNNE (retrograde), pellet in circle.
 Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
 Reportedly found near Kirmington, Humberside (further information recorded confidentially). M/d find before February 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

145. Northumbria, styca, irregular with blundered obv. legend, moneyer Broder?
Obv. +EPPRETRET, cross.
Rev. +n(or V)BRO[], pellet in circle.
 Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
 Reportedly found near Kirmington, Humberside (further information recorded confidentially). M/d find before February 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

146. Northumbria, styca, brass, irregular with blundered legends.
Obv. blundered legend, cross.
Rev. +F(IW?). W+, cross.
 Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr).
 Wighill, near Tadcaster, N. Yorks. M/d find December 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

147. Northumbria, styca, copper, irregular with blundered legends.
Obv. [](R upside-down)EHH[], cross?
Rev. []WIGE(R upside-down)[], cross.
 Weight: 0.80g (12.3gr), corroded.
 Wighill, near Tadcaster, N. Yorks. M/d find December 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

Carolingian coins

148. Louis the Pious, denier, class 3, unspecified mint.
Obv. +HLVDVVVICVS IMP
Rev. XPSTIANA RELIGIO; 'temple'.
 Identified from photographs; not weighed.
 Kilham (Bridlington), Humberside. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before September 1996.
 (Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

149. Charles the Bald, type 2, Troyes.
Obv. GRATIA D-I REX; Karolus monogram.
Rev. +TRECAS CIVITAS, cross pattée.
 Weight: 1.83g (28.2gr). Die-axis: c. 0°.
 Canvey Island, Essex. Found by Mr & Mrs Lewin, 1993-4.

G.W.

150. Imitation of Charles the Bald, type 2, Arles.
Obv. +VDRATIAD-IREX (retrograde, with blundered Karolus monogram).
Rev. +AVRELIANIS CIVITAS (poorly executed).

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr), pierced.
 Tibenham, Norfolk (grid ref. recorded at BM).
 Reported to BM by Mr P.G. Day, November 1996.
 G.W.

Later Anglo-Saxon coins

151. Eadberht Praen of Kent (796-8), North 206, moneyer Tidheah.
Obv. EAD BERHT REX in three lines.
Rev. TID HEAH in two lines divided by a line of ornaments within two curved lines.
 Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr).
 Stratton swimming pool, Beds. Found by Beds Archaeological Unit, 1995.
 G.W.

152. Archbishops of Canterbury, Jænberht, with Offa as overlord, North 224, Blunt 131.
Obv. +JAENBRHT AR'EP
Rev. in two lines: OFFA / REX, above cross, around pellets.
 Weight: 1.28g (19.7gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Chiltern Hills, exact findspot unknown. M/d find 1991.
 Sold Spink.

Two other coins of Archbishop Jænberht have been found in the area of the SW extremity of the Chilterns (near Goring and near Reading). These finds may be associated with the old Icknield Way crossing at Streatley near the border between Mercia and Wessex. No penny of Jænberht has been recorded from within the area of Mercia proper despite a considerable number of recorded finds. This suggests a findspot for the new coin to the SW of the Chilterns, within the border of the pre-1974 Oxfordshire. Unrecorded dies (the third known pair).

M.J.B./D.C.

153. Archbishops of Canterbury, Æthelheard, with Offa as overlord, Blunt 136, North 229.
Obv. in three lines: (3 pellets)AEDIL/HEARD/ARC'EP
Rev. in three lines: (3 pellets)m'(3 pellets)/+:OFFA/(3 pellets) REX (2 pellets in the m, 4 in the X)
 Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr), chipped, Die-axis: 270°.
 Wye, near Kent (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find December 1991.

Several cracks on the reverse die.

M.J.B./D.C.

154. Archbishops of Canterbury, Ceolnoth (833-70), Chi-rho type (crude style), North 242, moneyer Wunhere.
Obv. +CIALNO-Ð/AREP, facing bust.
Rev. +VVNNRE MONETA (starting at 3 o'clock), chi-rho monogram in centre.
 Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr). Die-axis: 0° (by the design).
 Lincs/Notts border. M/d find reported by John Ogden, 1996.

M.A.S.B.

155. Archbishops of Canterbury, Æthelred, Portrait/Quatrefoil type, North 250, moneyer Æthelred.
Obv. [+EÐERED]/AR[CHIEPT]
Rev. [EÐ/ER]/ED/[MO] in quatrefoil, [N/E]/T/[A] around quatrefoil.

Weight: 0.35g (5.4gr), fragment.

Santon Downham, Suffolk (possibly from spoil removed from the Thetford by-pass, same context as nos 294–5). M/d find before April 1994. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.389.1995; Annual Report, 1995, p. 26).

From the same dies as *BMC* 61, the only other specimen recorded.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

156. Mercia, Offa (757–96), Light coinage, non-portrait, *BMC* 49 (die duplicate), Blunt 79, North 275, moneyer Tirwald.

Obv. OFFA REX in angles of a Celtic cross with annulet centre.

Rev. TIRVALD in angles of long cross fleury; in centre, a small cross saltire, each limb terminating in a trefoil.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr).

Abridge, Essex. Found by Mr H.G. Doy, October 1996.

G.W.

157. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Non-Portrait type, Blunt 25 var., North 287 var., *MEC* I.1125, Canterbury or London?, moneyer Dud.

Obv. in two lines, divided by a line of pellets: OFFA / REX, cross above, pellets in the field.

Rev. in two lines, divided by a line of pellets with floriated ends: +d / VD, cross above and below, pellets in field.

Weight: 1.148g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Wye, Kent (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1991.

Same pair of dies as the specimen found at Upper Deal (*BNJ* 1985, p. 72, no. 67). The advanced state of a reverse die crack on the Wye coin shows it to be a later striking than the Deal coin which exhibits this crack in a very early state.

M.J.B./D.C.

158. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Non-Portrait type, Blunt 40, North 282, *SCBI* Glasgow 317 (for the *obv.* legend), moneyer Almund.

Obv. in two lines: O / F / Rx / A (the Rx ligature is retrograde), pellets around.

Rev. in three lines: ALH / MUN / d, cross above, pellets around.

Weight: 1.21g (18.75gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Found 'within 10 miles of Winchester', Hants. M/d find early 1993.

M.J.B./D.C.

159. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, non-portrait, reverse as Blunt 26 (same die), obverse similar to Blunt 52 moneyer Dud.

Obv. +OFFA REX in angles of a cross of pellets on a short cross with rounded ends.

Rev. DUD in angles of a cross of lobes with trefoil headed sceptre on each lobe and in each angle.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).

Barton le Clay, near, Beds., autumn 1996.

G.W.

160. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Mercia/London?, moneyer Tirwald.

Obv. +OFFA REX (two pellets above O, chevron-barred A), large central pellet in circle of twelve small pellets, all within triple beaded border.

Rev. DT IR VV AL (A chevron-barred and flanked by pellets) in angles of cross of lobes which has trefoil-headed bar in each lobe and angle.

Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Elford, near Tamworth, Staffordshire. M/d find June 1996.

The reverse is exactly like those used by Dud on Blunt 26–28; the obverse appears to be unparalleled. This is the first coin of Offa actually found near his primary residence at Tamworth.

D.J.S.

161. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, portrait, *BMC* 17, Blunt 47, North 293, moneyer Ealred.

Obv. EALRED; bust r., diademed.

Rev. OFRM on the limbs of a Celtic cross with central panel containing a small cross with a pellet in each angle. Same die as *BMC* 17.

Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Lympne, near, Kent. Found by Mr P. Matthews, early 1996. Same site as no. 352.

G.W.

162. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 45, North 308, moneyer Ealmund.

Obv. (3 pellets)OFFA REX · MERCIOR'H

Rev. (cross of 5 pellets)E(3 pellets) / ·AL(3 pellets) / ·MV ·Nd

Weight: 1.17g (18.1gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Wallingford, near, Oxon., possibly E of the Thames. M/d find March/April 1993.

Same dies as Drabble 320.

M.J.B./D.C.

163. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 57, North 310, bust Ea var., London, moneyer Æthelwald.

Obv. +OFFA REX+ (pellets in the legend).

Rev. Æð / EL / UA / Ld

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Caistor-on-the-Wolds, near, Lincs. M/d find 1993 on farmland.

This spelling of the moneyer's name is unrecorded amongst almost 40 surviving coins and the only instance of ligaturing of the initial Æ. The lower case 'a' in this ligature is unique in Æthelwald's coinage but is used by several other moneyers and is an undoubted early feature of chronological significance. Other evidence also suggests that Æthelwald's coins belong early in the light coinage (portrait and non-portrait).

The portrait die is very similar to that of two coins of the same moneyer found near Maldon, Essex, and near Peterborough.

M.J.B./D.C.

164. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Non-Portrait type, Blunt 60, North 277, moneyer Heaberht.

Obv. +O/FF/A R/EX (pellets around letters)

Rev. TH/BE/A/E (TH ligatured)

Weight: 1.15g (17.8gr), small edge chip. Die-axis: 270°.

Roxton, Beds. M/d find July 1990.

From the same obv. die as Blunt 60 (Fitzwilliam Museum, CM. 1.144-1990).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

165. Mercia, Offa, Light Coinage, Non-Portrait type, Blunt 72, North 289, Canterbury, moneyer Osmod.

Obv. +OFFA REX mE, in centre C (lozenge O)

Rev. OS/M/O/D

Weight: 1.32g (20.4gr).

Hindringham, Norfolk (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find February 1990.

Attribution to Canterbury by Stewart in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 27-43.

M.J.B./T.C./J.C.M.

166. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 76, North 302, bust Ea, moneyer Pendred.

Obv. OFF·A·/R·EX (pellet in the O, pellets in the angles of the X)

Rev. +P/EN/d·R/ED

Weight: 1.02g (15.8gr), edge a little chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Stevenage, near, Herts. M/d find 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

167. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 81, North 302, bust Ea, moneyer Winoth.

Obv. +OFFA REX+ (pellets in legend)

Rev. U/IN/O/ð (pellets in legend, lozenge O)

Weight: 1.19g (18.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

North of Ipswich, Suffolk. May 1988. Published by John Sadler, *Ipswich Numismatic Notes*, vol. 7, pp. 63-64. Sold Christie's, London, auction 3 October 1988, no. 248.

Same dies as 1) SCBI, 20, 567, ex Lockett 2645; 2-3) nos 168-9 below. Another rev. die of this type in a very similar style has been used with a Non-Portrait obv. (Blunt -, CR 1988, no. 152).

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

168. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 81, North 302, bust Ea, moneyer Winoth.

Weight: 1.08g (16.7gr), bent and straightened. Die-axis: 0°.

Croxton, Hunts (Cambs). M/d find before November 1989.

Same dies as no. 167 above.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

169. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt 81, North 302, bust Ea, moneyer Winoth.

Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr) after cleaning, 1.09g (16.9gr) before cleaning. Die-axis: 0°.

Hadleigh Downs, near Canvey Island, Essex, on farmland just below the castle. M/d find October 1991. Same dies as no. 167 above.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

170. Mercia, Offa, Light coinage, Portrait type, Blunt -, North -, moneyer Tirwald.

Obv. +OFFA REX+, bust to the right.

Rev. :T+(3 pellets)R+.V.V.+A.I+D (pellets in the Vs), cross botonnée. Plain inner circle decorated by four pairs of small parallel bars.

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr). Die-axis: 30°.

Believed to have been found in Northamptonshire during the first half of 1992.

This is the first recorded portrait coin by this moneyer. The reverse is also unrecorded and of the same type as the unique 'Pontif' coin of Archbishop Æthelheard (CR 1988, no. 139). The two dies are very likely by the same hand and this lends support to the suggestion that Tirwald may have been a Canterbury moneyer. This suggestion is further strengthened by the marked similarity between his Celtic Cross dies and those of certain early rare coins of Archbishop Jaenberht (Blunt 132). The R with an open curve and a short tail is characteristic of this moneyer. The L has devolved into an I.

M.J.B./D.C.

171. Mercia, Offa, Heavy coinage, Blunt 85, North 319, moneyer Babba.

Obv. +OFFA REX m (pellets in legend, lozenge O)

Rev. BABBA

Weight: not recorded.

Amersham, near, Bucks. M/d find 1987.

Same dies as MEC I.1134, but the rev. of the latter has been re-engraved with pellets added under the bottom line.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

172. Mercia, Offa, Heavy coinage, Blunt 103, North 320, moneyer Osmod.

Obv. in 3 lines, surrounded by pellets: m' +OFFA/REX (lozenge O)

Rev. OSMOD surrounded by pellets.

Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr), edge chips. Die-axis: 270°.

Haverhill, near, Suffolk (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find April 1995.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

173. Mercia, Offa, Heavy coinage, Blunt 107 var., North 325 var., moneyer Wulfhath.

Obv. in three lines, divided by beaded bars: (4 pellets)m'(4 pellets)/+:OF·FA/(3 pellets)REX (lozenge O)

Rev. in two lines, divided by a beaded bar: VVLF/+HA (pellets around letters)

Weight: 0.958g (14.8gr), buckled and straightened, edge chip. Die-axis: 0°.

Polegate, near, E. Sussex (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find May 1990.

This coin, the second coin recorded of this moneyer, is of a different style than the first (found near Offley, Herts, cast in BM and Letchworth Museum). The large A on the rev. is strongly reminiscent of that used by the moneyer Æthelwald on Blunt 55–6. The R on the obv. is of the particularly exaggerated 'London' style with a very tall upright.

M.J.B./D.C.

174. Lead ticket, time of Coenwulf of Mercia (796–821)?

'Obv.' []ODE[]; almost certainly Wodel, the East Anglian moneyer of Coenwulf.

'Rev.' LV[]; moneyer Lul?

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr), incomplete.

Walsoken, Norfolk, site 19047. M/d find, 1996.

Identified by Marion Archibald. Similar double-reversed, incuse, tickets, for Coenwulf/Eadwald, have been found at Canvey Island.

J.A.D./M.M.A.

175. Mercia, Coenwulf (796–821), BMC 93, North 342, Canterbury, moneyer Seberht.

Obv. +COENVVLF REX around M.

Rev. SEBERHT around two-line tribrach moline.

Winchester, St Cross, Hants. Found by Mr T. Hinde, spring 1996.

G.W.

176. Mercia, Coenwulf, Tribrach type, BLS Cn 6 (plate 1), North 342, Canterbury, moneyer Duda.

Obv. +CO·ENVVL·F R·EX, in the field m' (the legend starts at 180°).

Rev. D/VD/A, double tribrach.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Cambridge, near, to the north, same site as nos 196 and 200. M/d find 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

177. Mercia, Coenwulf, Pincer Cross type, North 347, BLS Cn 37 and 44 (plate 3), moneyer Diormod.

Obv. +COENVVLF/REX m

Rev. +DIORMOD MONETA

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Uncertain findspot: either near Kirmington, Humb or S.Lincs/N. Cambs (further information recorded confidentially). M/d find before February 1995.

The obverse shows features from Cn 37, Group IIIA (broken legend) and from Cn 44, group IVA (hair). The style of the shoulders is between the two types, and it appears to belong mid-way in the stylistic progression.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

178. Mercia, Coenwulf, Pincer Cross type, BLS Cn 46 (plate 3), North 347, Canterbury, moneyer Werheard.

Obv. +COEHVVLF REX m

Rev. +PERNEARD MONETA (NE ligatured)

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr). Die-axis: 270°.

West Hythe, Kent, same findspot as BNJ 1985, p. 73. M/d find November 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

179. Mercia, Coenwulf, Cross Moline type, BLS Cn 66 (plate 3), North 348, Canterbury, moneyer Oba.

Obv. +COENVVLF/REX m

Rev. +OBA+ MON+ETA

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.

West Hythe, Kent, same findspot as BNJ 1985, p. 73. M/d find November 1991.

Same dies as BMC 76 (despite minor difference in the first A on the reverse). Other recorded specimens 1) BMC 76; 2) Delgany hoard, ex Grantley 844, ex Evans; 3) no. 180 below (from different dies).

M.J.B./D.C.

180. Mercia, Coenwulf, Cross Moline type, BLS Cn 66 (plate 3), North 348, Canterbury, moneyer Oba.

Obv. +COENVVLF/REX m

Rev. +OBA+ MON+ETA

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr) before restoration, broken and restored, some small fragments missing. Die-axis: 270°. Edwardstone, hamlet between Sudbury and Hadleigh, Suffolk. M/d find August 1992.

M.J.B./D.C.

181. Coenwulf, East Anglian group, moneyer Wihtrid.

Obv. +COENVVLF []M; diademed head to r.

Rev. +P·[]·R·E·D; letter A.

Weight: 1.0g (15gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.

Derrington, Barham, Kent. M/d find by Mr M. Millard, January 1996.

D.J.H.

182. Mercia, Ceolwulf I, Portrait/Cross-crosslet type, BLS C1 21 (plate 7), North 378, London, moneyer Ælhun.

Obv. +CIOLVVLF REX

Rev. [+]AELHV[N]

Weight: 0.91g (14.0 gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 270°.

South Cambs, near Haverhill (Suffolk) (near the Suffolk-Essex-Cambridgeshire border). M/d find September 1991.

Only two specimens listed BLS, p. 61: 1) BMA 103 (ex Montagu 296, ex Marsham 80); 2) Lockett 381 (ex Evans). All three specimens are from the same pair of dies.

M.J.B./D.C.

183. Mercia, Wiglaf, second reign, North 401/1, plate 5, 29 (this coin). BLS –, London, moneyer Redmund.

Obv. +WIGLAF REX m

Rev. in three lines: h/+REDmV/D (the 'h' is inverted = N?)

Weight: 1.19g (18.4gr), chipped, broken and surface damaged during repair. Die-axis: 170°. Soham, Cambs. M/d find November 1990. Acquired from Spink by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.382.1991; Annual Report 1991, pp. 37–38, fig. d).

The central A on the obv. is similar to Redmund's coin for Ecgerht of Wessex (BLS, pl. 7, B).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./D.C.

184. Mercia, Burgred, Lunette type d, North 426, moneyer Tata.

Obv. +BVRGRED REX

Rev. MON/+TATA/ETA

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Middleton, near King's Lynn, Norfolk, 'in a field next to the A47'. M/d find before October 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

185. East Anglia, Beonna, North 430, moneyer Efe.

Obv. +BEONNA REX ('nna' runic)

Rev. +/E/F/E

Weight: 1.06g (16.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.

East Harling area, Norfolk. M/d find, c. 1994.

From the dies Efe O4/R13 (*BNJ* 1985, p. 51).

Published in Archibald, *BNJ* 1995, p. 14, no. C9.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

186. East Anglia, Beonna, *BMC* 1, North 430, moneyer Efe.

Obv. +BEONNA REX ('nna' runic)

Rev. +/E/F/E

Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr). Die-axis: c. 270°.

Fakenham, near, Norfolk, same village as no. 76 above (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1992.

From the dies Efe O10/R35. Published in Archibald, *BNJ* 1995, p. 15, no. C22.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

187. Athelstan I of East Anglia (c. 825–45), *BMC* –; similar to *SCB* Copenhagen I, 95.

Obv. AEDELSTAN R

Rev. MON MONET

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr). Die-axis: 225°.

Aylsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

Identified by Marion Archibald.

J.A.D./M.M.A.

188. Eadmund of East Anglia (855–69), *BMC* 43, North 461, moneyer Baeghelm.

Obv. EADMVND R[EX]

Rev. +BA[EGH]ELM MO

Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 270°.

Roudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

189. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483, moneyer Ansiger.

Rev. +ANSIG[]I

Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.

Croxton, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

190. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483, blundered legends.

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Thompson, Norfolk, site 31265. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

191. St Edmund Memorial coinage, North 483, early

phase, c. 895–905, moneyer 'Oduibnr' (Odalbert?).

Obv. +SC EADIVNI (S on its face, N reversed), chevron-barred A in centre (no pellets or annulets)

Rev. +ODVLBN(R?) MI, cross (no pellets or annulets in the angles)

Weight: 1.32g (20.4gr), buckled. Die-axis: 90°.

Exton, near Oakham, Leics. M/d find 1993.

Cf. *BMC* 464–5 (ex Cuerdale hoard).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

192. St Edmund Memorial penny, North 483.

Obv. +SC[]IYN (S on its face), chevron-barred A in centre.

Rev. +AOI[]IYII

Weight: not recorded. Broken and parts missing. Die-axis: 0°.

North Creake, Norfolk. M/d find August/September 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

193. Northumbria, Vikings, 'Cunnetti', North 501 (C-1b/CR-G³), York.

Obv. +CVN(4 pellets)NET(4 pellets)TI(4 pellets)

Rev. CNVT at the ends of the limbs of the cross. R(3 pellets) / E(3 pellets) / (3 pellets)+ / (3 pellets) in the angles.

Weight: 1.42g (21.9gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Pocklington, Yorks (N. Humberside). M/d find June 1993.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

194. York, Hiberno-Norse kings, Anlaf Guthfrithsson, Raven/Small Cross type, North 537, moneyer Athelferd.

Obv. +ANL·AF CVN[.....](part of C)S

Rev. [.....]AÐELFERD MINET[.....]

Weight: not recorded, broken and incomplete.

Uncertain findspot: either Gringley on the Hill, near Gainsborough, Lincs., or 'near the "Viking way" south of Winteringham', Humb. M/d find late 1991.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

195. St Peter of York, penny, phase 1, *BMC* 5, North 551.

Obv. SCI PETRI MO

Rev. EBORACI CIV; cross pattée.

Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr), pierced. Die-axis: 0°.

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131. M/d find, March 1996

J.A.D.

196. Wessex, Ecgbert, Portrait/Dorob C type, *BMC* i, North 573, Canterbury, moneyer Tidbearht.

Obv. +ECGBEAR/HT REX

Rev. +TIDBEARHT; monogram of DOROB C with pellet in the upper left angle.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr), broken and with small chips. Die-axis: 270°.

Cambridge, near, to the north, same site as nos 176 and 200. M/d find 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

197. Wessex, Ecgbert, Portrait/Cross Potent type, *BMC* v, North 576, Rochester, moneyer Dunun.

Obv. +ECGBEORHT REX:

Rev. +DVHVH moHETA (HE ligatured)

Weight: 1.37g (21.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Brackley, near, Nhants. M/d find January 1993.

From the same pair of dies as the specimen illustrated by North, plate 9, 14. Both coins have the same die crack on the letter E on the reverse. This is the fifth recorded specimen of this type for the moneyer Dunun.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

198. Wessex, Ecgbert, Portrait/Cross Half-moline type, *BMC* iii, North 588, Rochester episcopal mint.

Obv. ECGBEORHT REX

Rev. +ZC[.....](part of N)DREAZ, cross with two arms moline.

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.

Gillingham, near, Kent (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find May 1992.

Sold Glendining's 16 April 1997, lot 123 (not illustrated).

Two other specimens recorded of this type: 1) *BMC* 13 (different dies), 2) *BMA* 325.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

199. Wessex, Alfred, Lunette unbroken type, *BMC* i, North 625, moneyer Heremod.

Obv. +AELBRED/REX

Rev. .D MO(3 pellets)/HEREMO/.NETA. (HE and NE ligatured)

Weight: 1.04g (16.1gr), good silver. Die-axis: 270°.

Louth, near, Lincs. (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1992. Sold Spink (*NCirc*, December 1992, no. 7433).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

200. Wessex, Alfred, Lunette unbroken type, plated over a base core, *BMC* i, North 625, moneyer Liabinc.

Obv. +AELBRED(5 pellets)/REX

Rev. .M:O:N./LIABINC/.ETA(6 pellets) (NC ligatured)

Weight: 0.82g (12.7gr), chipped. Die-axis: 90°.

Cambridge, near, to the north, same site as nos 176 and 196. M/d find 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

201. Wessex, Edward the Elder, Horizontal type, North 649, *BMC* ii, *CTCE* 201 or 202, moneyer Grimwald.

Obv. [](part of EA)[]ARD[], saltire cross

Rev. in two lines: (part of G)RIMP/(part of A)LD M-O
Weight and die-axis: not recorded. *Obv.* double-struck, broken, incomplete.

Jevington, near, E. Sussex. M/d find January 1994.

No die-links to the specimens quoted by *CTCE* (the specimen from the Rome/Forum hoard has not been checked, as no illustration is available).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

202. Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–858), phase 3 c. 848–51; two Canterbury pennies of the moneyers,

Eanmund and Hebece, in a group of four fragmentary pennies stuck together:

Coin 1: half of *rev.* remains, partly obscured by coin 4; +EANM[VND MO]N around CANT monogram in centre; North 614.

Coin 2: half of *rev.* remains, part obscured by coin 3; []LH[] visible in border; coin of same diameter as coin 1.

Coin 3: central zone of the *rev.* of a penny; cross with letter A in lower left segment; moneyer Hebece, North 617.

Coin 4: a tiny sliver of a silver penny; no detail.

Weight of group: 1.23g.

Walpole St Peter, Norfolk, site 21341. M/d find, 1996.

Surviving detail is compatible with the group having comprised four coins of the same type.

J.A.D./M.M.A.

203. Edward the Elder, *BMC* ii, North 649, moneyer Beorhtnoth.

Obv. +EADVVEARD REX

Rev. BYREH[++++]TNOÐM

Weight: 1.44g (22.2gr). Die-axis: 350°.

St Albans, Herts. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

204. Æthelstan, Horizontal type, Blunt 395 (*BNJ* 42, p. 129), *BMC* i, North 668, HT1, North Eastern variety, moneyer Manna.

Obv. +ÆÐELSTAN RE

Rev. MAN/+++/NA MO (Ns reversed, perhaps only two pellets rather than three in top line).

Weight: 1.40g (21.6gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find March 1994.

Different dies from *SCBI* 2, 606.

Nos 140, 204, 206, 209–10, 262 come from the same site, which has also yielded a number of other coins: CR 1994, nos 195, 203, 228 (said in error to have come from spoil removed from the Thetford by-pass and dumped at Lakenheath); *BNJ* 1993, p. 125, no. 2 plus three coins to be published: Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross (cut halfpenny), Facing Bust/Small Cross and William I, Profile/Cross Fleury. There is also a hoard of at least fifteen Crux coins of Æthelred II from the same site in three fused lumps ('Coin hoards 1995', nos 12 and 13, *NC* 155 (1995), p. 333), and two stray Crux coins (CR 1994, nos. 203 and 205) and the broken one cited below may come from the hoard as well. Several more coins from this site have been reported, but not examined by us and no photographs are available:—Sceat, Series B or J;—Alfred, Lunette; Æthelred II, Hand, Thetford, moneyer Eadgar; Æthelred II, Crux, broken half; Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/Eagles, Thetford; Edward the Confessor, Hammer cross, Canterbury, moneyer Manna; Edward the Confessor, Facing bust/Small cross, Lincoln?; Harold II, Thetford; Harold II, Thetford; William I, Profile/Cross Fleury, Thetford, moneyer God... (Goda, Godric or Godwine); William I, Profile/Cross Fleury, Thetford; Henry I, Pointing Bust and Stars?, Thetford.

Henry I, no details available. It is likely that other coins said to have come from spoil from Thetford by-pass dumped at Lakenheath are also from this site (CR 1994, nos 106–8, 205, 234). Even though they are from three different reigns, the five 10th-century coins nos 204, 206, 209–10 and CR 1994, no. 195 (two Æthelstan, one Eadmund, two Eadred) may be a small hoard (lost purse?). They have, however, been found during a period of a year and a half, and the site is a productive one.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

205. Æthelstan, Bust crowned type, *BMC* viii, North 673, Norwich, moneyer Eadgar.

Obv. +ÆDELSTAN REX

Rev. +EADGAR MO NOR-DPI

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 90°

Gunthorpe, Norfolk, site 21004. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

206. Eadmund, Horizontal type, *CTCE* 98, North 688, HT1, possibly Oxford, moneyer Wynnalm.

Obv. +EADMV(3 pellets)ND REX, extra cross under the initial cross.

Rev. +PYNNE/+++ /LM M-O (pellet in the O)

Weight: 1.32g (20.4gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk, see note under no. 204 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find December 1993.

Same pair of dies as *SCBI* 34, no. 345. The moneyer Wynnalm struck coins in Oxford under Eadred, *CTCE*, p. 138, no. 2.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

207. Eadmund, Bust Crowned type, *CTCE* 253, North 697, Norwich, moneyer Hrodgar.

Obv. +EADMVHD REX

Rev. +HRODGAR HO HROPIC

Weight: 1.32g (20.4 gr), chipped and buckled. Die-axis: 180°.

Sturmer, Essex (near Haverhill, Suffolk). M/d find August 1993.

Different dies from *SCBI* 34, 477–8.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

208. Eadmund, Bust crowned type, *BMC* vi, North 698, Norwich, moneyer Eadgar.

Obv. +EA[DM]VN REX

Rev. +[]D GAR MO NOR-DVT

Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.

Bawburgh, Norfolk, site 24639c/1). M/d find, November 1996.

J.A.D.

209. Eadred, Horizontal type, *CTCE* 99, North 706, HT1, NE, York, moneyer Ærigr.

Obv. +EADRED REX H

Rev. ÆRIG/+++ /ER HO

Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk, see note under no. 204 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d

find April 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

210. Eadred, Bust Crowned type, *CTCE* 255, North 713, moneyer Manne.

Obv. +EADRED REX

Rev. +HAHME MOHOM

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr), small edge chip. Die-axis: c. 280°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk, see note under no. 204 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before March 1994.

Different dies from *CTCE* 255.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

211. Eadred, Bust Crowned type, *CTCE* –, North 713, moneyer Elfstan.

Obv. +EADRED RE+

Rev. +ELFSTAN.MONETA

Weight: not recorded, surface corroded. Die-axis: 0°.

London, Thames foreshore, near Southwark Bridge. M/d find late 1992–early 1993.

A moneyer Elfstan is not known for Eadred's Bust Crowned type, but he is likely to be the same moneyer who struck HT1 NE1 coins (*CTCE*, p. 141, no. 88), since four of the other six moneyers who struck this variety also produced BC coins (*CTCE*, pp. 194, 198–9).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

212. Eadwig, Horizontal type, HT1, Midlands and Southern style, *CTCE* 16, North 724, moneyer Folthardt.

Obv. +EADVVIG RE+(3 pellets)

Rev. FOLCT/HARDT (stroke under FO).

Weight: 1.38g(21.3gr).

Fakenham, near, Norfolk, same village as 84 and 112 above (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find November 1989.

Better style than *SCBI* 34, 731.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

213. Unidentified Horizontal-Trefoil type, fragment, 10th century, probably HT1, NE style, *CTCE*, p. 114–170.

Obv. +[]

Rev. (trefoil)/[](E?)N/[], one cross visible.

Weight: 0.28g (4.3gr), corroded fragment.

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 217, 238, 253, 259, 281 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1994.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

214. Eadgar, Bust crowned type, *BMC* v, North 750, East Anglia style, moneyer Bruninc.

Obv. [+EADG]AR REX

Rev. +BRVNI[NC MONETA]E

Weight: 0.72g (11.1gr), fragment. Die-axis: 200°.

Colkirk, Norfolk, site 30867. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

215. Edward the Martyr, Small Cross type, North 763, Stamford, moneyer Ogea.

Obv. +EADPEARD REX ANGLOX

Rev. +OGEA MN-O STANFO. (NF ligatured).

Weight: 1.22g (18.9gr), bent, straightened and repaired. Die-axis: 270°.

Warlingham, near, N.E. Surrey (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find April 1990 on farmland.

M.J.B./D.C./T.C.

216. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, First Small Cross type, North 764, York, moneyer Sty.

Obv. []DEL[]

Rev. []TYR M[]

Weight: not recorded, broken and cracked, incomplete. 'Five miles east of York Minster'. M/d find October 1994.

Sty is only known at York, where he struck First Small Cross and First Hand (Jonsson and van der Meer). The coin is of York style, but from different dies from the specimen found in the York, Coppergate excavations (E.J.E. Pirie, *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-81* (1986), p. 57, no. 62).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

217. Æthelred II, cut farthing, First Small Cross type, North 764, Lincoln, moneyer Grind.

Obv. +E[DELRED RE+ AN]GL

Rev. [+GRIND N-O] LINE[C]

Weight: 0.28g (4.3gr).

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 213, 238, 253, 259, 281 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before 1995.

From the same dies as Mossop Aa (pl. 2, 12).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

218. Æthelred II, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, London, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGLORX

Rev. +GODPINE M-O LVNDN.

Weight: 1.5g (23gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Gibbens at Pure Gold Detector Rally on 31 August 1996 (ref SEDR-96-77).

Same rev. die as *SCBI* 25, 7.

D.J.H.

219. Æthelred II, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, London, moneyer Wulfstan.

Obv. +EDELRED REX AN

Rev. +PVL[F] TAN N M'O LVN

Weight: 1.14g (17.8gr), holed. Die-axis: 90°.

S.W. Norfolk, north of Brandon, Suffolk, same village as nos 258, 279 and 350 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find September 1991.

M.J.B./T.C.

220. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, Rochester, moneyer Sidewine.

Obv. +EDEL[]NGLORX

Rev. +SIDE[PINE[]

Weight: 0.6g (9gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Wingham, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Potter, April 1996. Same site as no. 277.

D.J.H.

221. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Lincoln, moneyer Æthelnoth.

Obv. +E[]ERED REX ANGLOX (NG ligatured)

Rev. +EDEL[]O-D M-O LIN

Weight: 0.89g (13.7gr), chipped. Die-axis: 180°.

Thetford, near, Norfolk. M/d find 1995, information Roy Owens.

The moneyer is not recorded for this type in Mossop or Jonsson and Van Der Meer, but he is a prolific moneyer in the succeeding Long Cross type.

M.A.S.B.

222. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Norwich, moneyer Ea- (Eadmund).

Obv. +EDEL[R]]LOX

Rev. +EA[]ONOD

Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 30441. July 1996.

J.A.D.

223. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Thetford, moneyer Eadwi.

Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGLOX (NG ligatured)

Rev. +EADPI M'O DEODF

Weight: not recorded.

Little Cornard parish, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find 1996

Same dies as *SCBI* Copenhagen ii 1208.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

224. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Long Cross type, *BMC* iia, North 774, Lincoln, moneyer Unbein.

Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGLO

Rev. [+VN/BEIN]/ M.O/LINC

Weight: 0.85g (13.1gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Rochester, near, Kent, same field as no. 330 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find November 1989.

From the same dies as Mossop Ef (plate 15, 24).

M.J.B./T.C./J.C.M.

225. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Long Cross type, *BMC* iia, North 774, Lincoln mint.

Obv. +EDEL[]GLO

Rev. []OL-LINC

Weight: 0.74g (11.4gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Oxborough, Norfolk, site 20625. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

226. Æthelred II, Long Cross type, *BMC* iia, North 774, London, moneyer Deorwulf?

Obv. +EDELRED REX ANGLO

Rev. +DR[]LF M-O LVN

Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 30441. M/d find, February 1996.

J.A.D. September 1996.

D.J.H.

227. Æthelred II. Helmet type, *BMC* viii, Ipswich, moneyer Godric.

Obv. +Æ-DELÆD REX A-NG (NG ligatured)

Rev. +GO-DRIC MO C GIPE

Weight: 0.94g (14.5gr), slightly chipped.

Shrublands Hall, near Coddanham, Suffolk (see *BNJ* 55 (1985), p. 69 for the site). Found 1984 and submitted for auction at Bonhams, 26 March 1996, lot 112; information Peter Mitchell.

Despite the errors in the reverse legend this is a regular coin. The obverse die is of the 'National' style (from the same die as *SCBI* Berlin 474), while the reverse is in the local East Anglian style. Some coins of this style were regarded as Hiberno-Norse, but were restored to the English series in M. Blackburn, 'Hiberno-Norse coins of the Helmet type', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, edited by K. Jonsson (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 9–24, at pp. 15–16.

M.A.S.B.

228. Æthelred II. Last Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 777, Stamford, moneyer Æscwig.

Obv. +[Æ-DELRED R]EX ANGLO

Rev. +ÆSCWIG ON [STANFORD]

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr), broken and incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.

Southill, near, Beds., same site as CR 1987, nos 70 and 143 (findspot reported confidentially). M/d find 1990.

Same dies as *SCBI* 27, 1187.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

229. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Last Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 777, Winchester, moneyer Wulfnoth.

Obv. +Æ-DELRED REX ANGLO

Rev. [VVLFRON]D ON [:] PIN[CES]

Weight and die-axis: not recorded, chipped.

North Wilts, near the Berks border. M/d find February 1993.

From the same dies as *SCBI* 20, 1062.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

230. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, Right Facing Bust, North 780, Canterbury, moneyer Godman.

Obv. +ÆDELRED REX ANGLOR., bust to right.

Rev. +GODMAN M'ON CANT

Weight: 1.38g (21.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Great Mongham, near Deal, Kent. M/d find February 1992 on farmland. This coin was published as CR 1991, no. 132 (not there illustrated) as coming from Little Mongham; Great Mongham is believed to be the more accurate findspot.

M.J.B./D.C.

231. Cnut, Quatrefoil type, *BMC* viii, North 781, Winchester, moneyer Siboda.

Obv. +CNVT REX ANGL-ORVM

Rev. +SIBO DAON PINC STRE

Weight: 0.9g (14gr), broken. Die-axis: 270°.

Minster-in-Thames, Kent. M/d find by Mr J. Davies,

232. Cnut, Quatrefoil type, North 781, Winchester, moneyer Siboda.

Obv. +CNVT REX ANGLORV (starting at 12 o'clock, Winchester style)

Rev. +SIB /ODA /ONPI / NCST (NP and NC ligatured).

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr), heavily corroded and perforated. Die-axis: 180°.

Yorkshire ('between Leeds and York'). M/d find 1996, reported by John Ogden.

M.A.S.B.

233. Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* xiv, North 787, London, moneyer Ælric.

Obv. +C.NVT / REX AN

Rev. +ÆLRIC ON LVNDEN

Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.

A few miles east of Thetford, Norfolk, same site as no. 263 (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before August 1991.

M.J.B./T.C.

234. Cnut, cut halfpenny, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* xiv, North 787, York, moneyer Fargrim.

Weight: 0.38g (5.8gr), incomplete.

Ryther, North Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Pickles, June 1996.

Same reverse die as *SCBI* 21, 161–2.

C.P.B.

235. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Dover, moneyer Edwine.

Obv. +CNVT / REC.X A:

Rev. +EDPINE ON DOFR(4(?) pellets).

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr). Die-axis: not recorded.

Stanford on Soar, Notts (near Loughborough, Leics). M/d find June 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

236. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, London, moneyer Alfwig Swencel.

Obv. +CNV / TREX

Rev. +ÆLFPI SPEN[]EL ON LV

Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Ixworth, Suffolk. M/d find 1996, information Roy Owens.

M.A.S.B.

237. Cnut, cut halfpenny, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Lincoln or Stamford, moneyer Swartbrand.

Obv. CNV[] JEX

Rev. []ARTEBRAN[]

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

238. Cnut, cut halfpenny, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Lincoln, moneyer Oslac.

Obv. +[CNV] / T RECX

Rev. +OSLAC O[N LINCO:]

Weight: not recorded.

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 213, 217, 253, 259, 281 (more precise findspot in confidential report). M/d find before 1995.

From the same dies as Mossop Hi (pl. 54, 3).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

239. Cnut, Short Cross type, North 790, London, moneyer Brungar.

Obv. +CNV/T RECX

Rev. +BRVNGAR ON LV:

Weight: 1.04g (16.1gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Steyning, near, W. Sussex. M/d find 1992

M.J.B./D.C.

240. Harthacnut (in the name of Cnut), Arm and Sceptre type, BMC xvii (of Cnut), North 799, Thetford, moneyer Ælfwine.

Obv. +CNVT/RECX AN

Rev. +ÆLF(V OR P)INE ON -DEOTVO

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Rochford, Essex. M/d find c. 1988. Same field as 'a tremissis in the name of Maurice, Marseille mint'.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

241. Harthacnut (in the name of Cnut), cut halfpenny, Arm and Sceptre type, BMC xvii, North 799, York, moneyer Ælfere.

Obv. []T/R[]

Rev. +ÆLF[ERE ONH EOF]ERPIC

Weight: 0.49g (7.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 180°.

Doncaster, near, S. Yorks (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find October 1992.

Same reverse die as SCBI 40, 2004. Both coins have a minor die scratch in the first angle of the cross.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

242. Harold I, Jewel Cross type, North 802, 'National B' style, Lincoln, moneyer Swartebrand.

Obv. [+][HAR/OLD R[E+]

Rev. [+SP]ARTEBRAND O LIN (ND ligatured).

Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr), broken and cracked, incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.

Wroxeter, Shropshire, near the river. M/d find February 1993.

From the same dies as Mossop Df (pl. 59, 28). For the style, see T. Talvio, 'Harold and Harthacnut's Jewel Cross type reconsidered', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 273-90, at p. 280, fig. 14.2.9; North, p. 171, fig. 5.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

243. Harold I, Jewel Cross type, North 802, 'National B' style, Norwich, moneyer Ælfwine.

Obv. +HARO/LD REX

Rev. +ÆLFINE ON NOR

Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Horseheath, Cambs. M/d find January 1993.

Same obverse die as SCBI 40, 493-5.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

244. Harold I, Jewel Cross type, BMC i, North 802, 'National A' style, York, moneyer Crucan.

Obv. +HARO/LD REX

Rev. +CRVCAN ON EOFE:

Weight: reported as 1.09g. Die-axis: reported as 135°.

Alford, near, Lincs (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find September 1989.

See T. Talvio (reference at no. 242), at p. 281, fig. 14.3.11; North p. 171, fig. 1.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

245. Harthacnut, Jewel Cross type, North 808, bust fig. 5 var., BMC i, London, moneyer Edric.

Obv. +HAR-Ð/ACNV[]

Rev. +EDR[] ON LVNDENE (NE ligatured).

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr), reverse double struck. Die-axis: 270°.

Ham, approximately one mile east of Eastry, Kent. M/d find July 1991.

M.J.B./D.C.

246. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, BMC ii, North 818, Canterbury, moneyer Leofwine.

Obv. +EDPERD RE

Rev. +LEOFFINE ON CEN (NE ligatured).

Weight: 0.9g (14gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Barham, Kent. M/d find by Mr M. Millard.

D.J.H.

247. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, BMC ii, North 818, Romney, moneyer Wulmæ.

Obv. +EDPERD RE

Rev. +PVLMEAR ON RVM

Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Minster-in-Thamet, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Potter, October 1995.

D.J.H.

248. Edward the Confessor, Trefoil Quadrilateral type, BMC iii, North 817, Lincoln, moneyer Godric.

Obv. +EDPE(3 pellets)/RD RE+

Rev. +GODRICC ON LINCOL

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Bosham, W. Sussex. M/d find early 1993.

From the same dies as Mossop Gf (plate 70, 23)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

249. Edward the Confessor, Trefoil Quadrilateral type, BMC iii, North 817, Lincoln, moneyer Oserth.

Obv. +EDPA/RD REX(3 pellets?)

Rev. +OSER-Ð OH LIHCOLE:

Weight: not recorded. pierced by corrosion.

Swallow, Lincs (near Grimsby, S. Humb). M/d find before July 1990.

Probably same dies as Mossop Aa (pl. 71, 15).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

250. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, BMC v, North 820, London.

Obv. []RD REX

Rev. [] ON LVNDE

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.
Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

251. Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, Light coinage, North 821, bust b, Lincoln, moneyer Godric.

Obv. +EDPA/.RD RE

Rev. +GODRIC OON LINCOL

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Tivetshall St Mary, approximately 5 miles NE of Diss, Norfolk. M/d find 1992.

From the same obv. die as Mossop D (plate 73, 7), rev. die not recorded (but same misspelling of OON as on die b, plate 73, 6-7).

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

252. Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, North 825, Cambridge, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +EDPER./D REX

Rev. +GODPINE ON GRANT

Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Brandon, Suffolk. M/d find March 1994

M.J.B./J.C.M.

253. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Pointed Helmet type, BMC vii, North 825, perhaps mint of Hastings and moneyer Dunninc.

Obv. +EDPA[]

Rev. +DV(N?)NI(part of N or C?)[]

Weight: not recorded.

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 213, 217, 238, 259, 281 (more precise findspot in confidential report). M/d find before 1995.

Dunninc is known to have struck Pointed Helmet in Hastings, cf. SCBI 30, 604 (of different dies).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

254. Edward the Confessor, cut farthing, Pointed Helmet type, BMC vii, North 825.

Rev. [] NOR[]

Weight: 0.27g (4.1gr).

Morley, Norfolk, site 31310. M/d find 1996.

J.A.D.

255. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign type, BMC ix, North 827, Canterbury, moneyer Guldewine.

Obv. EADPARD RAX ANG[]

Rev. +GVDEPINE ON CENTPN

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Wymondham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

256. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign type, BMC ix, North 827, York, moneyer Ulfetel.

Weight: 0.64g (9.8gr), fragment.

Yapham, Humberside. M/d find by W. Robinson, December 1995.

C.P.B.

257. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Sovereign type, BMC ix, North 827, Thetford, moneyer Aisere or Blacere.

Obv. EADPARD[]

Rev. [] ERE ON -D[]

Weight: 0.58g (8.9gr).

Bylaugh, Norfolk, site 25690. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

258. Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, BMC xi, North 827, Colchester, moneyer Wulfwine.

Obv. +EDPE./D RE+

Rev. +PVLFPINE ON COLECT

Weight: 1.14g (17.6gr). Die-axis: 270°.

S.W. Norfolk, north of Brandon, Suffolk, same village as nos 219, 279, and 350 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before September 1991.

M.J.B./T.C.

259. Edward the Confessor, cut farthing, Hammer Cross type, North 828, Lincoln, moneyer Othgrim.

Obv. +[EDPA]/D RE

Rev. +[ODGRIN] ON L[INCO] (NC ligatured).

Weight: 0.29g (4.5gr).

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 213, 217, 238, 253, 281 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before 1995.

From the same dies as Mossop Bb (pl. 78, 5) = SCBI 27, 754.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

260. Edward the Confessor, Facing Bust type, BMC xiii, Hild. Ac, North 830, Leicester?, moneyer Godric.

Obv. [] RDRI[]

Rev. +GODRI[] ON LIR

Weight: 0.95g (14.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same site as no. 143 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before March 1990.

The mint name could be read LIHR (last two letters ligatured) for Leicester (usually LEHR or LEHER). Godric is known to have struck coins in Leicester (BMC 627; Elmore-Jones 430, from different dies).

M.J.B./T.C./J.C.M.

261. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Pyramids type, BMC xv, North 831, Cambridge, moneyer Godlamb.

Obv. [EADPARD R] EX

Rev. +[GODLAH] ON GRAN

Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr), small chip.

Eastbourne, near, E. Sussex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before July 1993.

Same dies as SCBI 1, 960.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

262. Edward the Confessor, Pyramids type, BMC xv, North 831, Northampton, moneyer Sweetman.

Obv. EADPARD RE

Rev. +SPETMAN ON HAM

Weight: 1.15g (17.8gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk, see note under no. 204 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find November 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

263. Harold II, cut halfpenny, PAX type, North 836, probably Thetford, moneyer Godeleof.

Obv. []LD REX A(part of N)[]

Rev. +GODELE[] (legend starts at 6 o'clock).

Weight: 0.53g (8.2gr). Die-axis: c. 150°.

A few miles East of Thetford, Norfolk, same site as no. 233 (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before August 1991.

The moneyer Godleof is known to have struck Edward the Confessor, *BMC* v, vii, ix, xi, xiii, xv and William the Conqueror, *BMC* VIII.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

264. Harold II, cut halfpenny, PAX type, North 836, Thetford, moneyer Thurgod.

Obv. []D REX AN[]

Rev. +DVRGO[D ON -DEOT] (legend starts at 3 o'clock).

Weight: 0.52g (8.0gr).

Barham, near Ipswich, Suffolk. M/d find February 1995.

Same rev. die as *SCB* 2, 1211.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

Islamic coin

265. Samanid dirham of Ismail b Ahmad (AH 279–95/AD 892–907), mint of Balkh.

Weight: 2.62g.

Croxton, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, 1996.

V.P./J.A.D.

Byzantine coins

266. Byzantine Empire, Anastasius (491–518), gold solidus, Morrisson BN 1/Cp/AV/09, mint of Constantinople, 1st officina.

Obv. D N ANASTA / SIVS P P AV (deformed G), facing bust.

Rev. VICTOR / I / A AVCCC A, exergue: CONOB, Victory to left with Chi-Rho standard, star in front.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Eastry, near, Kent (findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before October 1991.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

267. Brooch, made from a silver miliaresion of Nicephorus II, Phocas (963–69). cf. *BMC* Vol. II, p. 473, 6.

Weight: 2.38g.

Sporle, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

Made into a brooch by attaching a plate across the obverse of the coin (now broken, with only one end surviving). This was held in place by two rivets.

M.M.A./J.A.D.

Uncertain coin

268. Silver penny, illegible, very thin and incomplete, 11th century?

Weight: 1.33g.

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 30441. M/d find, 1996.

Similar to example from Walpole St Peter, Norfolk (Coin Register 1994, no. 226). This has been made into a brooch by attaching a copper alloy bar, held in place by a single rivet through the centre. A bronze plate of indeterminate original shape clamps the coin from the front.

J.A.D.

Post Conquest coins

269. William I, Bonnet type, *BMC* II, North 842, London, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +PILLEMV REX I

Rev. +GODPINE ON LVNDN

Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr), bent, has been straightened.

Die-axis: 90°.

Market Deeping, near, Lincs (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find April 1993.

M.J.B./D.C.

270. William I, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, London, moneyer Ælfwine.

Obv. +PILLEM REX ANGL

Rev. +ÆLPINE ON LVND

Weight: not recorded.

Sparsholt, near Wantage, Oxon. M/d find before June 1988.

M.J.B./T.C.

271. William I, Two Stars type, *BMC* V, North 845, London, moneyer Godwine.

Obv. +PILLEM REX ANH

Rev. +GODPINE ON LVI

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Chelmsford, near, Essex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find March 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

272. William I, Two Stars type, *BMC* V, North 845, Canterbury, moneyer Aelfred.

Obv. +PILLEM REX III

Rev. +IILFRED ON CNTI

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Whitfield, Kent. M/d find by Mr M. Millard, 1992.

D.J.H.

273. William I, Profile/Cross and trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, Lincoln, moneyer Leofwine.

Obv. +PILLELM REX

Rev. +LEOFINE ON LIN

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 100°.

Mattishall, Norfolk, site 25729. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

274. William I, Paxs type, *BMC* VIII, North 848,

Sudbury, moneyer Wulfic.

Obv. +PILLE[]

Rev. +P[]ONSV-DBI

Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.

Ovington, Essex. M/d find by Mr P. Carolayn, 1996.

G.W.

275. William I. Paxe-type, *BMC* VIII, North 848, Thetford, moneyer Ælfwine.

Obv. +PILL[] REX

Rev. +ÆLFINE ON -DTF

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr), pierced at 1 o'clock/obv, worn. Die-axis: 90°.

Bekesbourne, near Canterbury, Kent. M/d find September 1991 on farmland.

M.J.B./D.C.

276. William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852, Rochester, moneyer Ælfstan.

Obv. +PILLELM REX

Rev. +ÆL[]TAN ON ROFEC

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Jevington, near, E. Sussex. M/d find January 1994.

For the identification of the moneyer, cf. E.J. Harris, 'The Moneyers of the Norman Kings', part 18, *SCMB* 1986, p. 294 (unpublished specimen in the Hunterian collection, Glasgow).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

277. William II, cut halfpenny, *BMC* II, North 842, uncertain mint and moneyer.

Rev. legend unclear, apart from ON.

Weight: 0.6g (9gr).

Wingham, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Potter, April 1996. Same site as no. 220.

D.J.H.

278. William II, cut farthing, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852.

Weight: 0.22g (3.4gr).

Croxton, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

279. Henry I, Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* II, North 858, Southwark, moneyer Sprot.

Obv. +HENRI RE+

Rev. +SPROT ON SV-ÐDI

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

S.W. Norfolk, north of Brandon, Suffolk, approximately the same area as nos 219, 258, and 350 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before September 1991.

M.J.B./T.C.

280. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* II, moneyer God—.

Rev. +GOD[]

Weight: 0.65g (10.0gr).

Bielby, Yorks. M/d find by S. Hodgson, April 1996. (Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

281. Henry I, cut halfpenny, PAX type, *BMC* III, North 859, unidentified mint and moneyer.

Obv. []ENRI RE[]

Rev. indistinct.

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr).

Gainsborough, near, Lincs, same village as nos 213, 217, 238, 253 and 259 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find 1994.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

282. Henry I, cut halfpenny, PAX type, *BMC* III, North 859, unidentified mint and moneyer.

Obv. []HENRI RE+[]

Rev. illegible.

Weight: not recorded.

Haverhill parish, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find 1996.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

283. Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, Stamford, moneyer Morus.

Obv. []CVS RE[]

Rev. +MO[]NF

Weight: 0.60g (9.2gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 180°.

Wereham, Norfolk, site 31799. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

284. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, London, moneyer Leofræd.

Obv. []RICVS:

Rev. +LIEFRED:ON[]D:

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr), incomplete and repaired.

Budbrooke, near Warwick, Warwicks. M/d find, with no. 287, by Mr A. Rose, March 1996.

The final D of the mint name is incomplete, but certain. London is the only mint currently known to have had a Leofræd active for this type, although the name appears as LIEFRED on *BMC* 254–55.

D.J.S.

285. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, London.

Rev. []ON LV[]

Weight: 0.64g (9.9gr), fragment.

Castle Rising, Norfolk, site 28258. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

286. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Norwich, moneyer uncertain.

Obv. [hE]NRICVS[]

Rev. []ON NORPIC

Weight: 1.33g (20.5gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Ryston, Norfolk, site 31096. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

287. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Norwich?, moneyer Ottar.

Obv. +hE[]S:

Rev. +OTER:O[]E/C/L:

Weight: 1.27g (19.6gr), incomplete.

Budbrooke, near Warwick, Warwicks. M/d find, with no. 284, by Mr A. Rose, March 1996.

Only the lower part of the final letter of the mint name survives, but it must be C, E or L. The most likely restoration is NORPIC, where the name Ottarr appears among the moneyers from William II type II until Stephen's reign. Unfortunately *BMC* 282 and Mack *Sylloge* 1574 are both from different dies to this coin and so cannot confirm the attribution. A moneyer of the same name worked at Barnstaple in Henry I types XIII–XIV, but that mint name appears as BERDESTA.

D.J.S.

288. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Winchester(?), moneyer Alwold(?).

Obv. []EN[]I[]

Rev. +ALPO[]

Weight: 1.34g (20.6gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Unknown findspot. Shown BM, 1996.

G.W.

289. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Norwich, moneyer Alward.

Obv. [+ST]IEFNE[]

Rev. +ALF[PA]RD: ON NO:

Weight: 1.5g (23gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Istead Rise, Kent. M/d find by Mr C. Pritchard, September 1995.

D.J.H.

290. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer (S—) uncertain.

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Ashwicken, Norfolk.

J.A.D.

291. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Norwich, moneyer Etstan?

Obv. +STIFNE[]

Rev. []ETSTA[]

Weight: 0.59g (9.1gr).

Bylaugh, Norfolk, site 25690. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

292. Stephen, cut farthing, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []R: ON[]

Weight: 0.33g (5.1gr).

Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

293. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.65g (10.0gr).

Saffron Walden, Essex (exact findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find July 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

294. Stephen, cut farthing, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, probably Mack 6c, North 873, perhaps Canterbury mint and moneyer Godhese.

Obv. hand holding sceptre.

Rev. []GODH[]

Weight: 0.30g (4.6gr).

Santon Downham, Suffolk (possibly from spoil removed from the Thetford by-pass, same context as nos 155, 295). M/d find before April 1994.

Godhese is known to have struck the 'Watford' type in Canterbury (*BMC* 11, not illustrated).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

295. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, Mack 21e var. (different spelling), North 873, Lincoln, moneyer Rei ... (Reinald).

Obv. []IFNE:[]R

Rev. +RE(1?) []LIN

Weight: 0.51g (7.9gr).

Santon Downham, Suffolk (possibly spoil removed from the Thetford by-pass, same context as nos 155, 294). M/d find before April 1994.

The obv. is struck from Mossop, die E (which precludes the possibility of this coin being a PERRERIC(M) issue). The reverse die is not recorded by Mossop, but it reads LIN as on dies e and f (plate 87, 4–5). The style of the bust (collar continuing to the right to touch sceptre) and the spelling LIN instead of NICO on the reverse are late features.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

296. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I var., North 874, London, moneyer Rodbert.

Obv. []TIEFNE, no inner circle, annulet on shoulder.

Rev. +RODBER[]N[]VN

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Arlesey, Beds. M/d find, May 1995.

This is the late variety of type I with no inner circle.

M.A.S.B.

297. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Voided and Mullets type, Mack 61f, *BMC* II, North 878, London, moneyer Terri D.

Obv. [](FNE:?)

Rev. []RI: D: ON:[]

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Horseheath, near, Cambs. M/d find October 1991.

Terri D is only known to have worked in London (Mack, p. 111).

M.J.B./J.C.M.

298. Stephen, Cross voided and mullets type, *BMC* II, North 878, Castle Rising, moneyer Rodbert.

Rev. []JET: ON: RIS[]

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).

Swaffham, Norfolk, 1996.

The coin is curled over so that only part of the reverse, and none of the obverse, are visible.

G.W.

299. Stephen, Cross voided and mullets type, *BMC* II, North 878, London, moneyer Godard.

Obv. STIEF[]

Rev. +GOD[]RD[]VN

Weight: 1.32g (20.3gr). Die-axis: 30°.

Henley, Suffolk. M/d find shown BM October 1996.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

G.W.

300. Stephen, cut halfpenny, independent issue, East Midlands, Mack 197, North 888, uncertain mint, moneyer -nod (possibly Northampton, Wulnod).

Obv. []NE.

Rev. []NOD:ON[], cross moline with large pelleted annulet in each quarter.

Weight: 0.55g (8.5g).

Bourne, near, Lincs. M/d find 1996.

This is the third recorded specimen of this type, the others being *BMC* 238 (unprovenanced) and *SCBI* Midlands Museums 724 (excavation find from Jewry Wall, Leicester). This is from the same obverse die as *BMC* 238 and provides a new moneyer (—nod) from that of the Leicester find (Willels); the BM coin has an illegible reverse.

The two findspots point to a mint in the East Midlands, and it may have been Northampton where a Wille(1)m is recorded for Stephen type III (*BMC* 176-7) and a Wulnod for Henry I type XV (*BMC* I, p. ccxxvii and no. 276; *SCBI* Lincolnshire Museums 2460). The coin has been acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM. 1008-1996).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

301. Stephen, Midlands variant, Lozenge Fleury and Annulets type, *BMC* IV, North 897, Lincoln, unknown moneyer.

Obv. illegible.

Rev. [D?]ER[]:ON:LIN[]

Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr), reverse double-struck. Die-axis: 90°.

Ancaster, between Grantham and Sleaford, Lincs. M/d find before July 1991.

Dies not recorded by Mossop. This moneyer does not appear to be known at Lincoln.

M.J.B./T.C./J.C.M.

302. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Lozenge Fleury type, Mack 74, *BMC* IV, North 897, Lincoln, uncertain moneyer (Difofd ... in retrograde letters).

Obv. [STIEF]NIFI[HI] (the S is retrograde)

Rev. [+DIFOFD]OI:LI[NC] (Ds, Fs and N retrograde, legend starts at 1 o'clock).

Weight: not recorded.

Said to have been found S. Humberside (further information recorded confidentially). M/d find 1993.

From the same dies as Mossop, pl. 87, 17. Only one other specimen struck by this pair of dies is recorded (*SCBI* 27, 953). This new specimen partly completes the reading of the reverse legend.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

303. Stephen, Lozenge-Sceptre type, North 920, Mack 218, probably York mint.

Obv. +ST[]EN(ornaments).

Rev. ornaments replacing legend.

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Donington, near, Lincs. M/d find 1992-3. Sold Spink.

304. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Colchester, moneyer Randulf?

Rev. []NDV[]ON:CO[] (?)

Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).

Wereham, Norfolk, site 31799. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

305. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Norwich, moneyer Hildebran.

Obv. [+S]TIEFNE:

Rev. +HILDE[BR]AN ON NOR

Weight: 1.4g (21.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 315°.

Boxley, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Butcher, October 1995.

D.J.H.

306. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Awbridge type, *BMC* VII, North 881, unidentified mint and moneyer (perhaps Nottingham and Svein).

Obv. []EPN[]

Rev. []SPI[]

Weight: 0.51g (7.9gr).

Lewes, near, Sussex (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find July 1991.

The moneyer Svein is known to have struck the Awbridge type at Nottingham, *SCBI* 17, 715.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

307. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Rye, moneyer Rawulf.

Obv. []IEFNE

Rev. +RAP[]F: ON: RI[]

Weight: 1.1g (17gr). Die-axis: 120°.

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr G. Parkin at Pure Gold Detector Rally, 31 August 1996 (ref. SEDR-96-7).

D.J.H.

308. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []LIN[]

Weight: 0.61g (p. 4gr).

Roudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

309. Henry II, Tealby type class A2, North 952/2, Winchester, moneyer Herbert.

Rev. +HER[]INCS

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 135°.

Attleborough, Norfolk, site 29896. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

310. Henry II, Tealby type class A, North 952, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []LF:ON:GL[]??

Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr). Die-axis: 220°?

Little Innage, near Mathern, Monmouthshire. M/d find, 1989, shown February 1996.

If the reading is as suggested, then Sawulf of

Gloucester would be appropriate. However, the mint signature could read C- or L- and the reading of the end of the moneyer's name is not certain.

E.M.B.

311. Henry II, Tealby type class C, Bury St Edmunds, moneyer Henri.

Rev. +H[]I.ON: S:ED

Weight: 1.31g (20.2gr). Die-axis: 220°.

Pentlow, Suffolk. M/d find by Mr P. Corolayn, 1996.

G.W.

312. Henry II, Tealby type class C?, North 956-7?, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr).

Newton by Castle Acre, Norfolk, TF 81 NW 152. M/d find, November 1995.

J.A.D.

313. Henry II, Tealby type, class F, North 961/1-/3, mint uncertain, moneyer Pieres?

Obv. []N[]IR[]

Rev. +[]ER[]

Weight: 1.21g (18.7gr), chipped. Die-axis: c. 40°.

Alford, near, Lincs, same village as no. 86 above (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find August 1991.

M.J.B./T.C.

314. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []E:O[]

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr).

Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

315. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.41g (21.7gr).

West Walton, Norfolk, site 25853. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

316. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.75g (11.5gr).

Aylmerton, Norfolk, site 31934. M/d find, September 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

317. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, London, moneyer Ricard.

Rev. +RICA[]VN

Weight: 0.57g (8.8gr). Die-axis: 225°.

Cringleford, Norfolk. M/d find, September 1996.

J.A.D.

318. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.56g (8.6gr), clipped.

Kenninghall, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

319. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []FRE[]

Weight: 0.77g (11.8gr).

Newton Flotman, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

320. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. +WI[]

Weight: 0.63g (9.7gr).

St Arvans, Monmouthshire. M/d find, October 1996.

E.M.B.

321. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []ES:O[]

Weight: 0.46g (7.1gr), fragment.

Snettisham, Norfolk, site 22010. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

322. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer Nicol?

Rev. +NI[C]

Weight: 0.61g (9.4gr).

West Acre, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1996.

J.A.D.

323. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.29g (4.4gr).

Croxton, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, March 1996.

J.A.D.

324. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []IN[]

Oxborough, Norfolk, site 2634. M/d find, December 1995.

J.A.D.

325. Short Cross, cut halfpenny, Class 2, Lichfield, moneyer Ioan.

Rev. []N.ON, LIh[]

Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr).

Tenby area, Pembrokeshire? M/d find, shown July 1996.

The fourth recorded specimen of this mint (?), from the same dies as the three specimens recorded in *NCirc* 1988, 314. The findspot is not certain, but highly likely, since the coin was shown through Tenby Museum, but the finder is known to search elsewhere.

E.M.B.

326. Edward III, quarter noble, Treaty B, North 1244.

Weight: 1.94g (29.9gr).

Deighton, North Yorkshire. M/d find by C. Mawbey, before September 1996.

The coin was the subject of an inquest held at York

on 27 November 1996. It was found not to be treasure trove and was returned to the finder.

C.P.B.

327. Edward IV, penny, Canterbury.

Obv. EDWA[] GRA REX ANGL; bust flanked by pall and knot.

Rev. CIVI – TAS – C[] – TOR, spur in TOR quarter.

Weight: 0.64g (9.8gr).

Helperby, North Yorkshire. M/d find by C. Martins, before January 1996.

No intact specimen of this type has been recorded elsewhere, although Christopher Blunt exhibited a fragmentary Canterbury mint penny displaying 'a pall to the left of the neck; a doubtful object (annulet?) to the right' to the British Numismatic Society in January 1967. It was observed that 'If it is in fact an archiepiscopal coin, it is the only evidence of that mint being operated in Edward IV's second reign' (*BNJ* 36, p. 212).

The new coin appears to represent an intact example of the Blunt specimen, with the doubtful annulet revealed as a Bouchier knot. However, this does not necessarily confirm the operation of the archiepiscopal mint during Edward IV's second reign. The obverse type of royal portrait flanked by symbols alluding to the identity and office of the archbishop recalls York mint issues of both reigns, whilst the initial mark appears to be a rose, as can be found in conjunction with the spur on the reverse of first reign halfgroats of group V. The coin was generously donated to the Yorkshire Museum by the finder.

C.P.B.

328. Imitations, c. 1490–1500, of Edward IV light coinage.

Pennies (355), struck on flans too small for the dies. All have the same obverse die, with four reverse dies: one of 'London' and three of 'York'. Two coins were not in a condition for the reverse to be identified precisely.

Obv. ECARCUS CEI [G]RA REX

<i>Rev.</i> ('London')	TAS CIVI CO[N CON]	78 coins.
('York' 1)	CIVI TAS ERO RAC	179 coins.
('York' 2)	CIVI TAS ERO RACI	16 coins.
('York' 3)	[CIVI TAS] EBOB ACI	80 coins.

Average weight: c. 0.45g (6.9gr).

Site of Bull Wharf warehouse, adjacent to Queenhythe Dock, London. M/d find by Mr A. Pilson and Mr I. Smith, September–December 1995.

This parcel was found on the same spot as an earlier group of 495 coins of the same type, with similar proportions of the four reverse dies, published in *BNJ* 50 (1980), 62–6. (Not illustrated.)

G.W.

329. James VI and I (1603–25), discarded copper strip from the production of farthing tokens. Two farthings remain on the strip, but so off-centre as to be not worth cutting out from the strip, although farthings had been cut to either side. The tokens are Lennox 'rounds', Peck 3b, North 2134, with privy-mark flower. Die-axis: 0°.

Three Cranes Wharf, near Southwark Bridge, R. Thames. M/d find by Mr A. Pilson, autumn 1996

G.W.

330. Scotland, William the Lion, cut halfpenny, Short Cross and Mulletts coinage. mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. [] M[]

Rev. +C[] A[]

Weight: not recorded.

Rochester, near, Kent, same field as no. 224 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find before January 1990.

M.J.B./T.C.

Continental sterling

331. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304). Mons, Mayhew 34.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr).

Kenninghall, Norfolk. M/d find, January 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

332. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280–1304). Mons, Mayhew 36.

Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr), folded.

Reepham, Norfolk, site 3150. M/d find, March 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

333. Brabant, John I (1261–94) or II (1294–1312). Limburg, Mayhew 44.

Weight: 0.87g (13.4gr), chipped.

Haverhill, near, Suffolk, 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

M.J.C.

334. Looz, Arnold V (1279–1323), Mayhew 62.

Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr).

Acton, Suffolk, 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

M.J.C.

335. John of Louvain (1285–1309), Herstal, Mayhew 84.

Weight: 0.86g (13.4gr).

Kilverstone, Norfolk. M/d find, June 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

336. Flanders, Robert of Bethune, Alost, Mayhew 211.

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr).

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

337. Valéran of Ligny (1304–66), Serain, Mayhew 220.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

Postwick, Norfolk, site 31762. M/d find, January 1996.

(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

338. Florennes, Gaucher of Châtillon (1313–22), Yves, Mayhew 244.
Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr).
Quidenham, Norfolk, site 19544. M/d find, 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

339. Florennes, Gaucher of Châtillon (1313–22), Yves, Mayhew 244.
Weight: not recorded.
Wenhaston parish, Suffolk (findspot recorded on Suffolk SMR, site WMH005). M/d find 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

M.A.S.B./J.N.

340. Florennes, Gaucher of Châtillon, Florennes, Mayhew 249.
Obv. +GALCH'S COMES PO (A with stroke).
Rev. MON/eT' F/LOR/InS (second N oncial).
Weight and die-axis: not recorded.
Farningham, near, Kent, precise findspot unknown. M/d find before November 1990.

The A with stroke on the obv. and the oncial second N on the rev. are not listed by Mayhew.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

341. Louis of Nevers (1290–1322), Rethel, Mayhew 294.
Weight: 1.14g (17.6gr).
Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

342. Germany, Louis IV (1314–47), Aachen, Mayhew 332.
Weight: 0.81g (12.5gr), clipped. Die-axis: 45°.
Mildenhall parish, Norfolk. M/d find 1996, information Roy Owens.

As the coin is clipped, it is difficult to determine whether the stops are composed of two or three pellets.

M.A.S.B.

343. William of Namur (1337–91), Mayhew 361.
Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr).
Roudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

344. William of Namur, cf. Mayhew 361, base metal, silvered.
Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr).
Croxtan, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, June 1996.

J.A.D.

345. Low Countries, 'Edward' imitation.
Obv. EDWRANGLEDNShyB; crowned bust, star on breast.
Rev. CIVL-TAS-LOIN-DON; barred and unbarred Ns.
Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr). Die-axis: 60°.
Chelmsford, near, Essex, 1995.

M.J.C.

European coins

346. France, Philip III-Philip IV, denier tournois à l'O rond, 1280–1290, Duplessy 223.

Obv. +Ph[IL]PPVS REX, cross.

Rev. +TVRONVS C[IV]IS, châtell tournois.

Weight: not recorded, chipped.

Steeple Bumpstead, near, Essex. M/d find March 1991.

There do not seem to be any word separation marks on this specimen (cf. Duplessy 223A, 1307–1310 issue).

M.J.B./T.C./J.C.M.

347. France, Charles IV (1322–28), maille blanche, Lafaurie 247.

Weight: 1.46g.

Blakeney, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

348. France, Charles V (1364–80), franc à pied, Lafaurie 371.

Weight: 3.65g.

Southerndown, near Ogmore by Sea, South Wales. M/d find on shore, December 1995.

A second specimen of the same type was found on the foreshore at Ogmore, about two miles distant, in 1977. These two coins may well derive from a single source. The 1977 find is in the NMW.

E.M.B.

349. France, Charles VI (1380–1422), blanc (Guénar), uncertain mint c. 1417–22, Lafaurie 403.

Weight: 2.59g.

Croxtan, Norfolk, site 31834. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

350. French feudal, Beauvais, bishops, immobilization in the names of Bishop Hervé and King Hugh Capet, Duplessy 1, Blackburn, *BSFN* 46 (1991), pp. 110–16, 11th or early 12th century.

Obv. []RV[]G[], cross with pellet in the first and the fourth angles.

Rev. []V[], Carolvs-monogram.

Weight: 0.80g (12.4gr).

S.W. Norfolk, north of Brandon, Suffolk, same village as nos 219, 258 and 279 (more precise findspot recorded confidentially). M/d find September 1991.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

351. French feudal, Dreux, billon denier of Hugues Bardoul (d. 1055), Poey d'Avant 89 var.

Obv. IHGO C-OIMIT (lozenge Os).

Rev. DRVCAS CASTA

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr). Die-axis: 140°.

Norfolk, c.1992. Shown by Dr Marcus Phillips in 1992, who had been told that it was a recent M/d find from Norfolk.

This is a mid-eleventh century coin; the issue was not immobilised. For the identity of Count Hugues see E. Caron, *Monnaies Féodales* (Paris, 1882), pp. 5–10. These coins circulated around Dreux (départ. Eure-et-Loire) and to some extent in neighbouring Normandy;

J.C. Moesgaard, 'Un trésor médiéval à Évreux. La circulation des monnaies de Dreux en Normandie', *Les Dessous des Sous* (Exhibition Catalogue, Musée d'Évreux, 1992), p. 36.

M.A.S.B.

352. Saxony, Otto-Adelheid Pfennig (Denar), late tenth century, Hatz type IV, 19f., possibly Slav imitation. *Obv.* []RA+REX; cross with O-D-D-O in angles. *Rev.* 'ATEA' []; church ('Holzkirche'); omega in r. field. Weight: 1.70g (26.2gr).
Lympe, near, Kent. M/d find by Mr P. Matthews, January 1996. Same site as no. 161.

D.J.H./G.W.

353. Coevorde, Renaud III, kopchen, c.1364.
Weight: 0.41g.
Cawston, Norfolk, site 19522. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

354. Flanders, Charles the Rash (1467-77), double patard. VG&H 23-3.
Weight: 2.59g, clipped and worn.
Rudry, near Caerphilly, South Wales (formerly Mid Glamorgan). Found c.1985 in the wall of Tir Jenkin farm.
(Not illustrated.)

E.M.B.

355. Spanish Netherlands, Charles V (1506-55), demi-gros, c. 1506-20.
Weight: 0.49g, incomplete.
Corpusty, Norfolk, site 31859. M/d find, October 1996.
J.A.D./B.J.C.

356. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, silver real, (after 1497).
Weight: 1.26g, worn and has been folded.
Ilketshall St Lawrence, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

357. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, silver real, after 1497.

Weight: 1.09g, worn.
West Acre, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1996.
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

358. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, half real, after 1497, Heiss 109-131 (plate 23), Seville.
Weight: 0.80g (12.3gr), heavily clipped, worn.
Fen Ditton, Cambs. M/d find autumn 1990 by Mr R.V. Jeffries on open farmland north of the cemetery. Spanish silver coins were legal tender in England and Wales 1554-1561 (see CR 1994, no. 355). This specimen could nevertheless have entered England earlier as suggested by its weight after clipping, which approximately matches the 12 grain penny weight of 1464-1526.

J.C.M.

359. Denmark, Eric of Pomerania, sterling, Galster 4, Lindahl 16-31 (*NNA* 1955, pp. 78-9), mint of Næstved.
Obv. []ERICVS(two annulets)R[], crown.
Rev. []eTA(two annulets)neSTWe[], cross.
Weight: 0.52g (8.0gr), broken and incomplete.
Cottingham, N. Humberside. M/d find 1990.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

360. Denmark, Eric VII of Pomerania (1396-1439), sterling, c. 1412-39.
Weight: 0.78g.

Little Barningham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

Correction

Correction to Coin Register 1994: nos 195, 203 and 228 (and perhaps also nos 106-8, 205 and 234) are not from spoil removed from the Thetford by-pass, but from a site near Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk. Nos 195, 203 and 228 were found January 1993 (See note under no. 204).

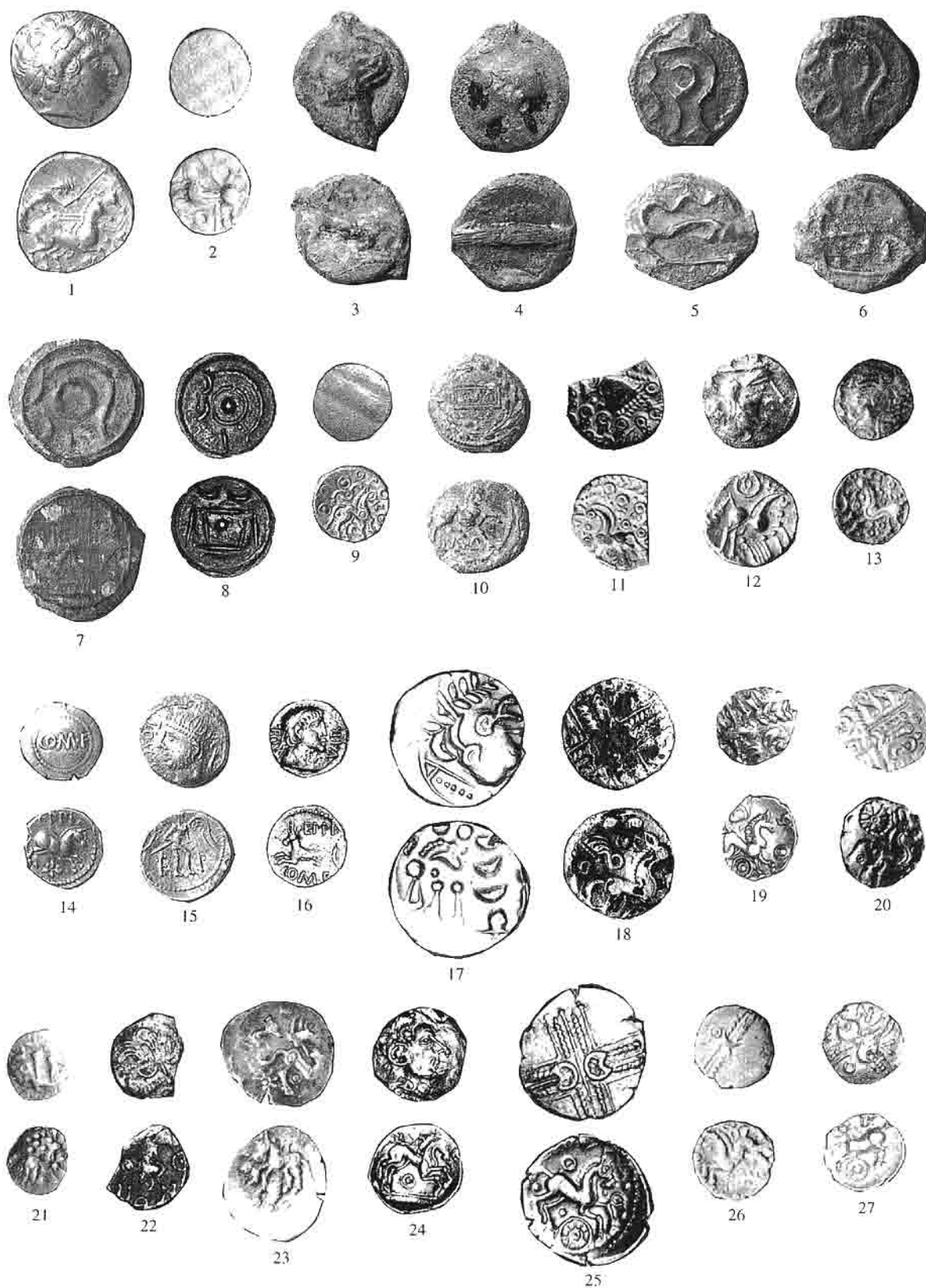
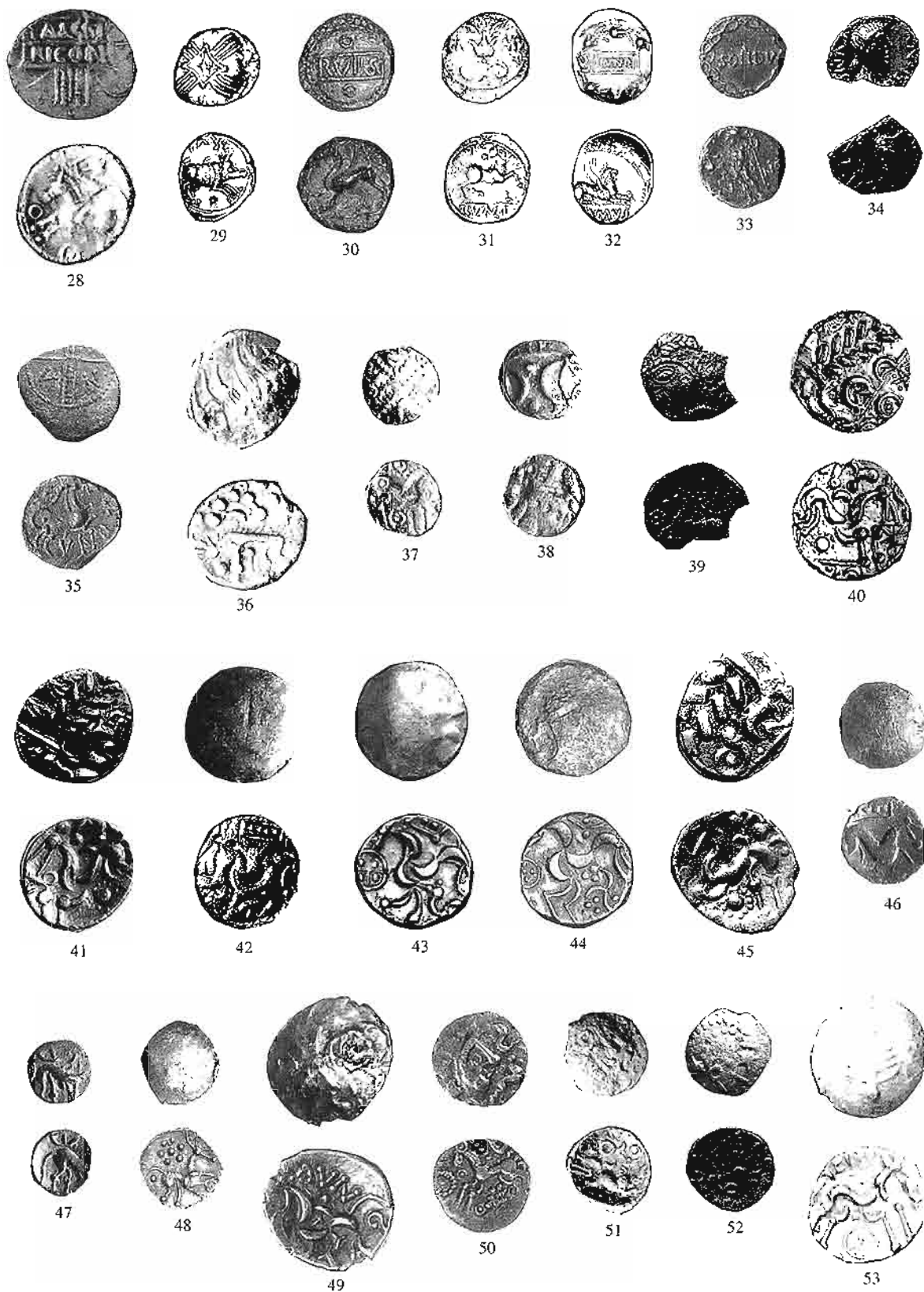


PLATE 14



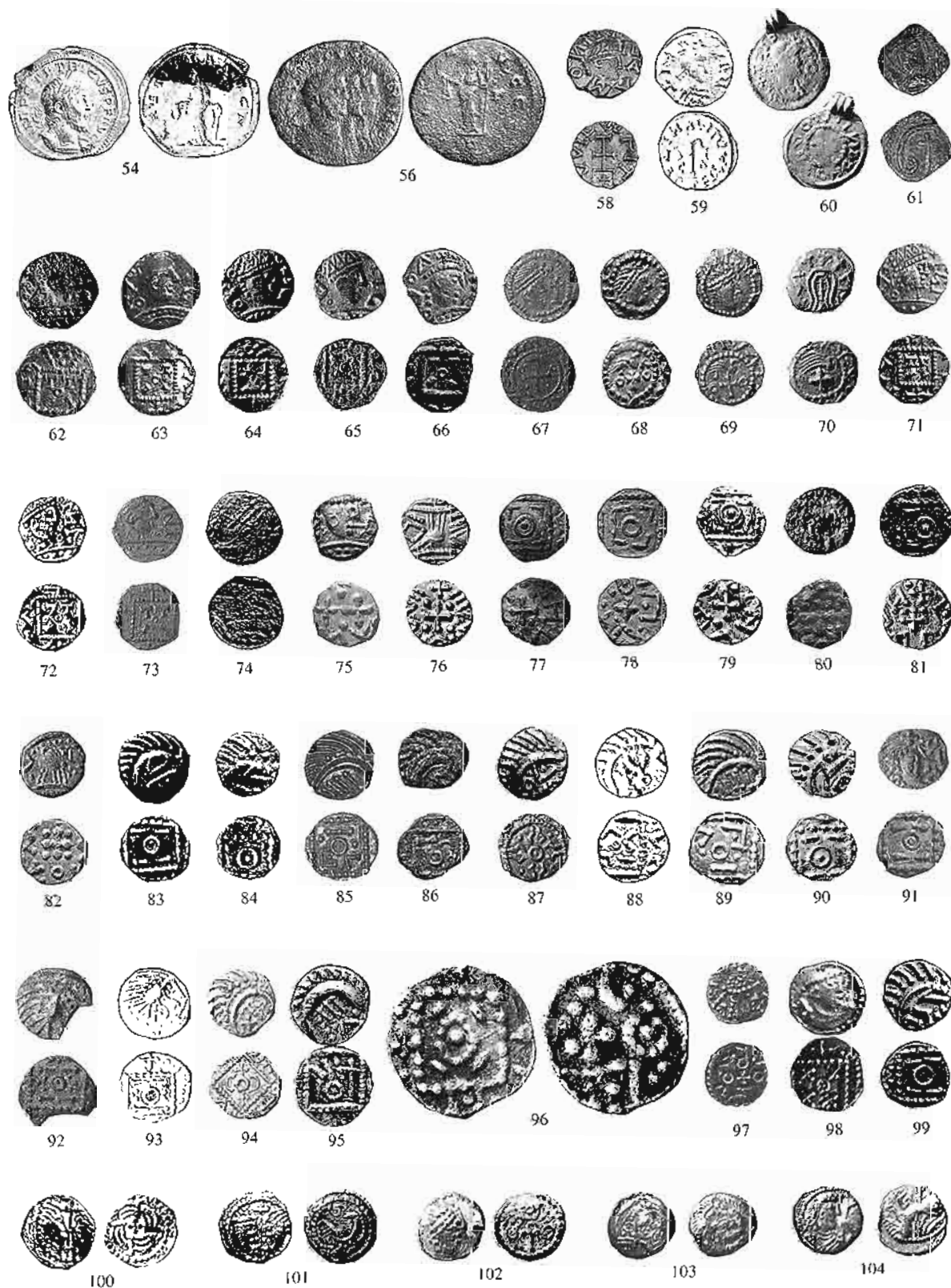


PLATE 16



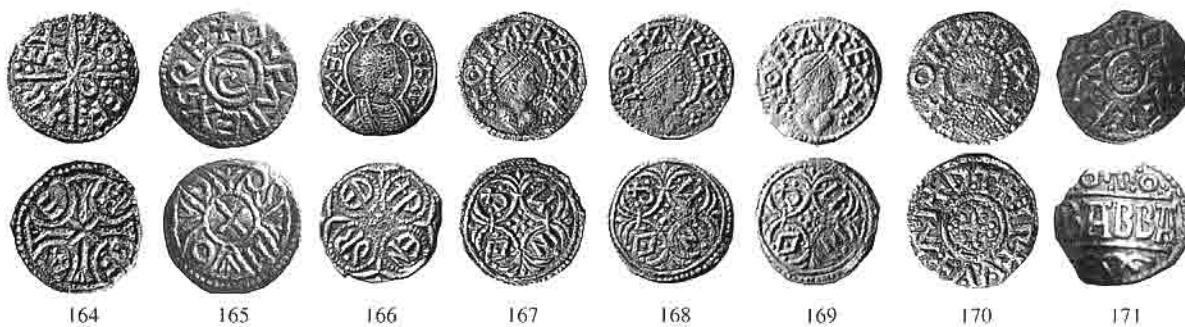
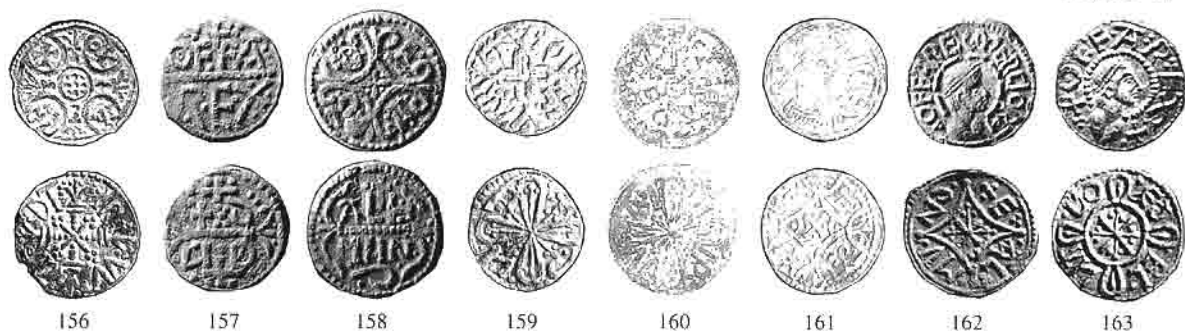
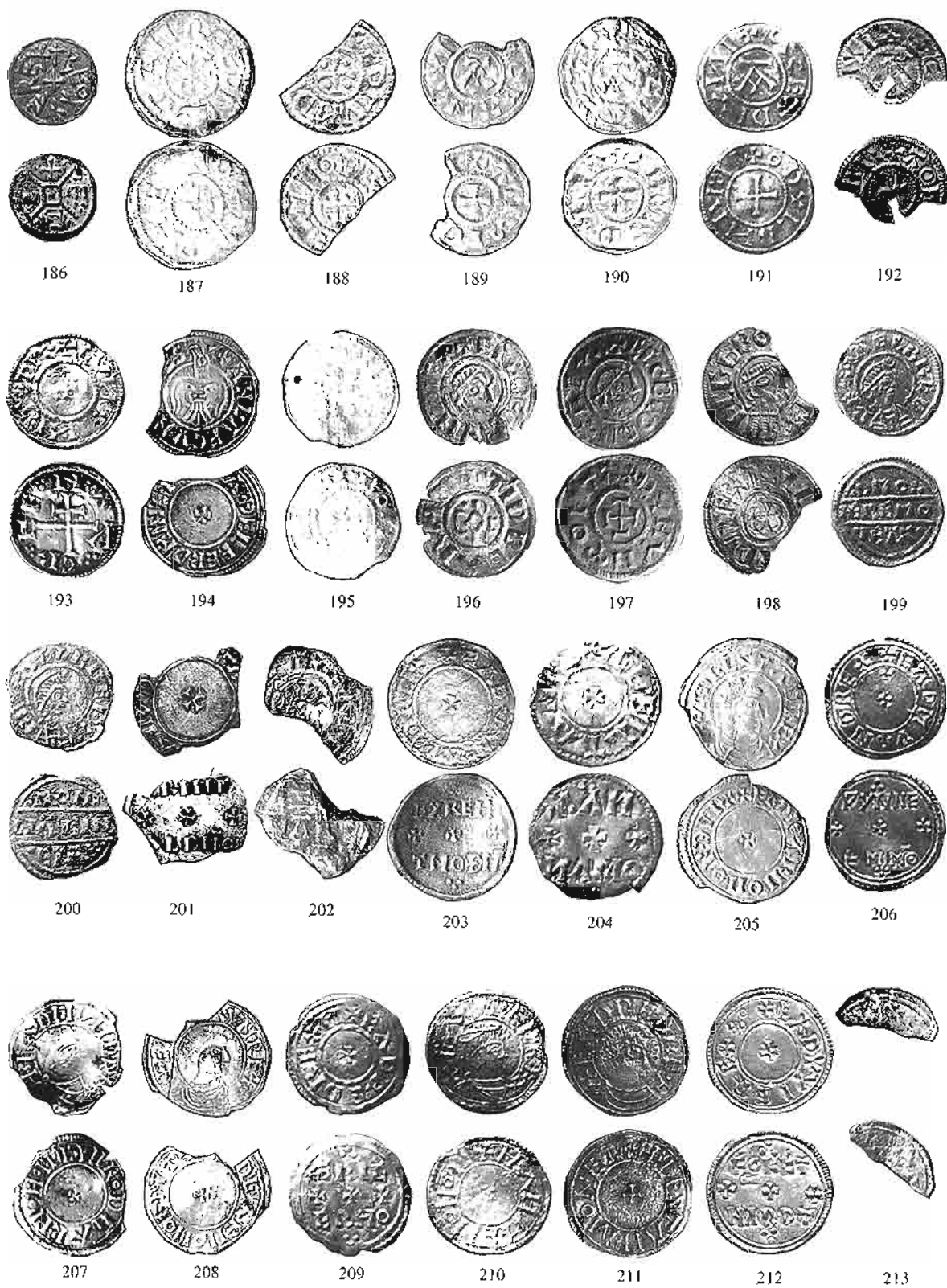


PLATE 18



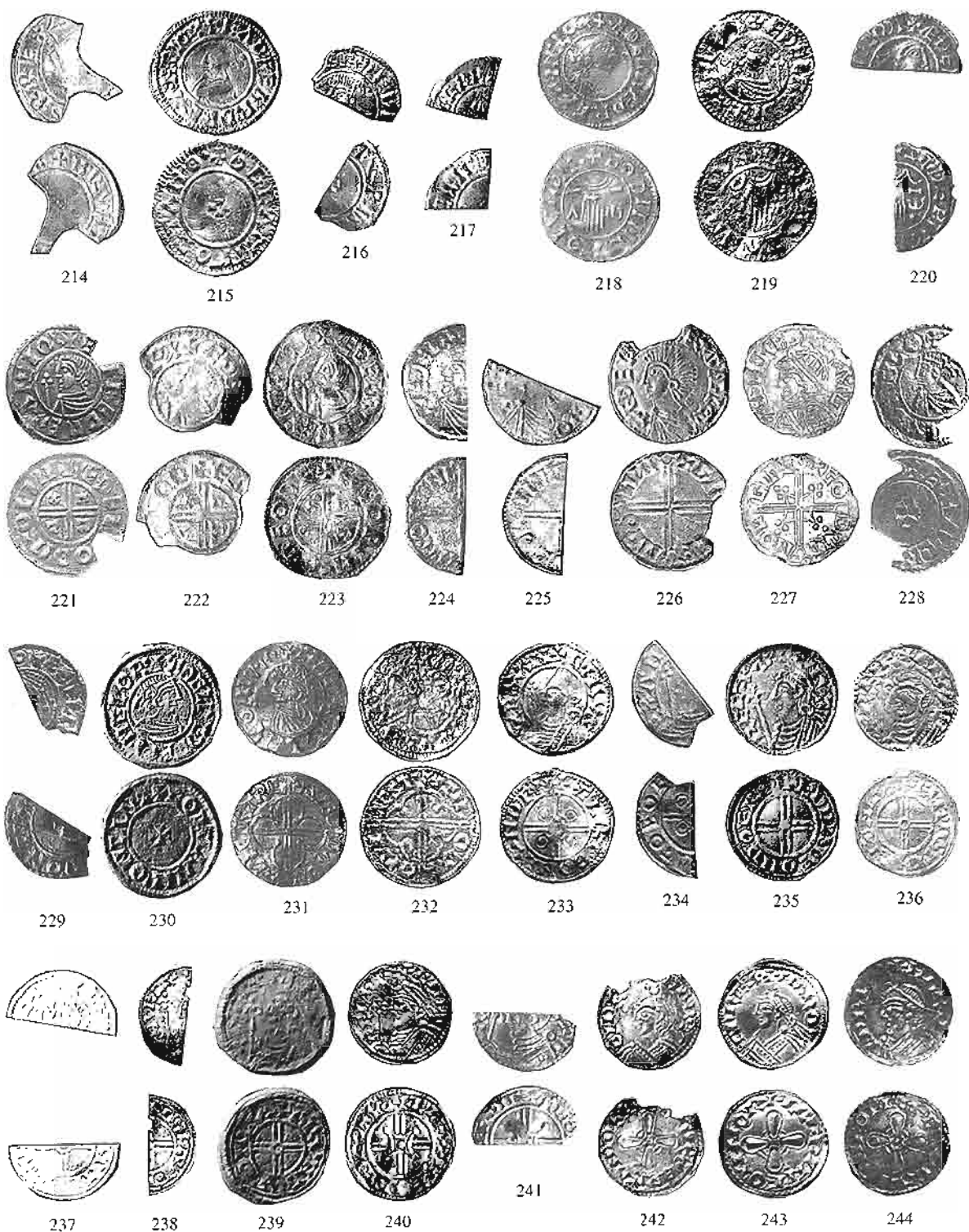
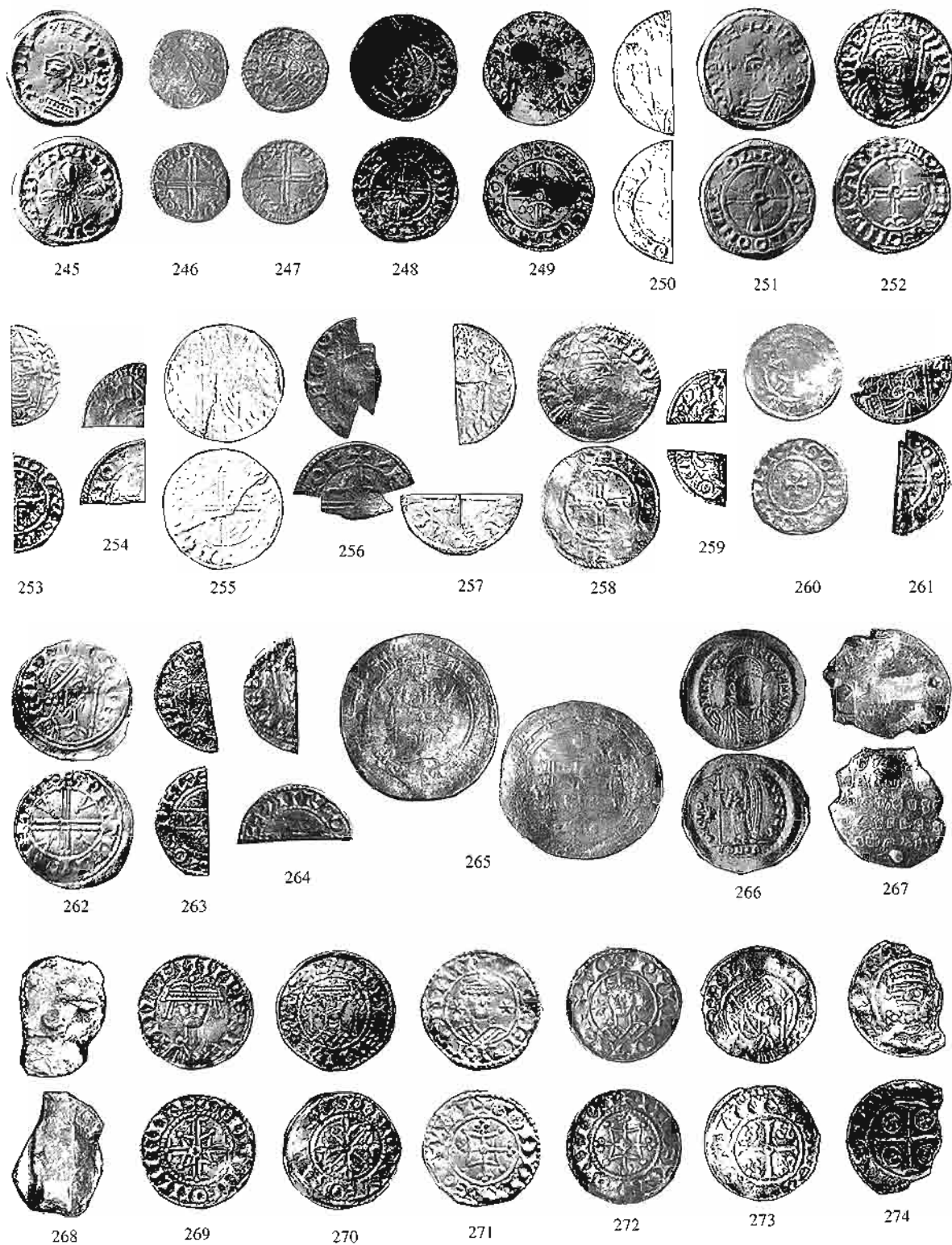


PLATE 20



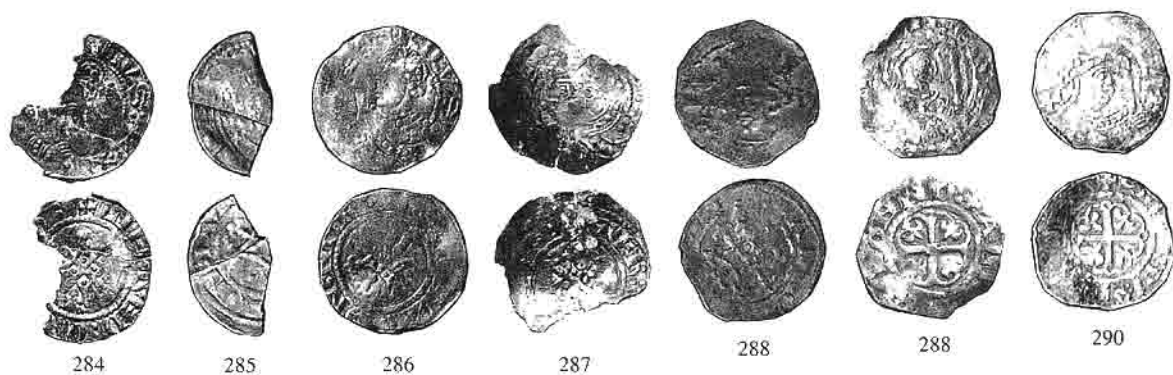
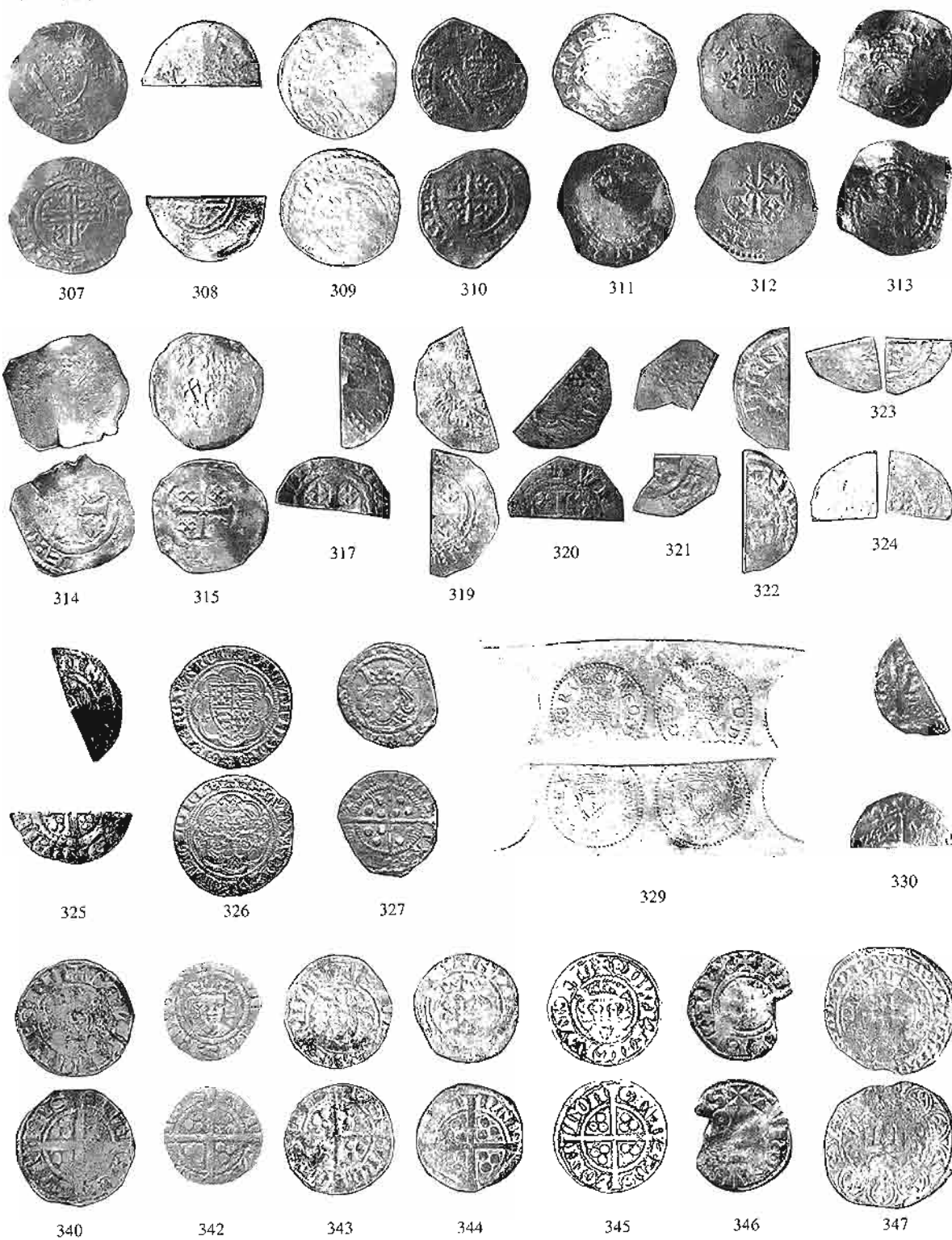


PLATE 22





REVIEW ARTICLE

Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700–867 in the Yorkshire Collections (The Yorkshire Museum, York; The University of Leeds; The City Museum, Leeds) by E.J.E. Pirie, (Galata Print Ltd, Llanfyllin, Powys, 1996). 287 pages, including 58 plates. Cloth. £75.

THE Yorkshire collections of Northumbrian so-called *stycas* are so extensive as to contain representatives of nearly every die and combination of dies used in the concluding decades of the old Northumbrian kingdom, which perished with the defeat and death of kings Osberht and Ælla when in March 867 they vainly attacked the Danish Great Army occupying York. Elizabeth Pirie is to be congratulated on making and publishing a complete die study of the coins in those collections, with over 2200 different die combinations illustrated on plates of clearly reproduced direct photographs taken by herself; these will be an invaluable source of material for future research.

The first 135 years of the period covered by the title are represented by only 115 die combinations, and the student interested in the issues of those years will need to consult other sources such as BAR British Series 128 and 180. This is because hoards found in Yorkshire, which are the main source for the collections, have consisted predominantly of coins of the kings of Northumbria and archbishops of York from about the commencement of minting by Archbishop Wigmund until the end of the series, including a large irregular component.

Wigmund's dates are traditionally given as 837–54 which, on the parallel royal dating, would require him to have occupied the see of York from three or four years before the death of King Eanred, throughout the seven or eight years' reign of his son Æthelred II (including a brief usurpation of royal power after about three years by a certain Redwulf) and for the first five or six years of the reign of Osberht. As has been pointed out by previous commentators, these relativities may not be entirely correct, as is suggested *inter alia* by the coinage of Wigmund's successor Wulfhere, which displays no continuity of moneyers with those of his predecessor and yet gives the appearance of having begun before that of Osberht.

To encourage historians to focus on the chronology, numismatists must try to develop robust criteria for splitting Æthelred's coinage between his two reigns and determining which of Wigmund's coins are likely to have been struck in each of those reigns and in Eanred's and, if possible, Redwulf's. In *BNJ* XXVIII this reviewer, in his first foray into numismatic research some forty years ago, interpreted the hoard evidence and his own die study as implying that the Hexham hoard of 1832 (represented in the Yorkshire collections by a modest parcel) was deposited at the end of Redwulf's usurpation or soon afterwards, because it

lacked coins of Osberht and Archbishop Wulfhere and most of the issues of a major moneyer of Æthelred called Eardwulf; and that since the later hoards so well represented in the Yorkshire collections contained no new varieties or moneyers of Archbishop Wigmund his coinage must have ceased by that time. However, Elizabeth Pirie argues that Hexham should be dated much later in Æthelred's second reign. Having observed that nearly all the obverse and reverse dies used in Redwulf's coinage display a linear cross, or else a cross of five pellets, as the central motif, and that a linear cross was the most prevalent motif on late coins of Eanred, she takes the view that dies used in Æthelred's coinage and that of Archbishop Wigmund can be assumed to have been made in Æthelred's first reign if they have cruciform motifs while dies with other motifs (such as a circled pellet), many of which are undoubtedly late, would have been engraved in his second reign. As a result, a substantial number of the coins previously assigned to Æthelred's first reign are catalogued in this volume under the second reign and many more moneyers are thus attributed to it. So, too, is a significant proportion of Wigmund's coinage.

Cataloguing such a vast quantity of material raises fundamental problems of arrangement. Unless it can be subdivided into manageable segments, students less familiar with the series will find it impossible to see the wood for the trees. In the recent past, notably in fascicules of *SCBI*, the custom has been to lay out the royal issues by reign, and by moneyer within each reign, with the coinage of Æthelred's second reign assumed to be limited almost entirely to the moneyer Eardwulf as had been proposed in *BNJ* XXVIII. Then follow derivative and blundered coins, and finally the coins of the three archbishops (Eanbald II, Wigmund and Wulfhere). For the *stycas* from late in Eanred's reign onwards Pirie has radically departed from this convention. First, she divides the regular coinage into five groups differentiated by die-cutting features and designated A, B, Ci, Cii and Ciii and subdivides each group by reign and then by moneyer; secondly, she allocates Æthelred's coins within each group other than A to his first or second reign according to whether or not the motifs on both obverse and reverse are cruciform; and, thirdly, she hypothecates Wigmund's coins to the various groups and reigns and interpolates them chronologically within each group. Since coins of most moneyers have been allocated to more than one group the result is a frustrating degree of fragmentation; the moneyer Monne, for example, is found in all except Group B, and his regular coins for four kings (and five reigns) are to be discovered in fifteen different places.

The groups themselves are fully objective only insofar as the coins of Æthelred are concerned, for in his case they merely reflect the spelling of his name. To

be classified in Group A the letter before the L has to be an E (Group Ai) or F (Group Aii), not the more usual I. In Group B the name is spelt AEDILRED or AEILRED and in Group Ci EDILRED or E-DILRED. Group Cii is as Ci but with the L inverted, and in Group Ciii the I and L are interchanged. This is clear enough, but it is less easy to understand how the coins of other reigns have been allocated to these groups. It appears that inter-reign die-links, and stylistic similarities with coins involved in such links, have been the main determining factors, though some objective criteria emerge: thus the first E of Eanred is reversed in Group Ciii; Redwulf is spelt REDVULF in Group A, HEDVULF in Group Cii and REDVLF (or REDVLE) in the others. Wigmund does not feature in Groups B and Ciii; his early issues with the title AREP are placed in Group Ci, but later issues with IREP and variations in its consonants can be found in Groups A and Ci; IR in Group Ci; and coins with no title in Groups Ci and Cii. Æthelred's coinage and the parallel issues of Archbishop Wigmund are divided in all but Group A according to whether or not the obverse and reverse motifs are both cruciform; the double cruciforms are placed before Redwulf and the remainder are placed after him. It seems that because Group A includes the specially ornamented varieties of the moneyer Leofthehn, Pirie could not bring herself to follow her own logic, so in that group all coins of Æthelred precede those of Redwulf and all coins of Wigmund follow Redwulf. Those coins she thinks might belong to the second reign are asterisked, which means some of Leofthehn's and all those of other moneyers with non-cruciform motifs. Had she done the same with the other groups it would have saved a lot of aggravation.

The basis of her allocation of coins of Eanred, Redwulf and Archbishop Wigmund to the various Æthelred groups and the reasons for her identification of Groups A, B and C as separate die-cutting workshops not necessarily in the same centre (York) are less clearly explained in the catalogue than in her paper 'Phases and groups within the styca coinage of Northumbria', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: The Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (BAR British Series 180, 1987), pp. 103–145. Unfortunately she has not responded to the serious criticisms made at that symposium of her chronological division of Æthelred's coinage according to whether or not the motifs on obverse and reverse are both cruciform.

Thus in Appendix III on the alloy composition of authentic stycas she writes:

'The schedule of results obtained from analysis of specimens in York and Leeds is given here as a mere record of practical work done, without further comment. Projects planned – first one and then another – were never completed, so that there are insufficient data for adequate comparison of like with like within the individual groups, or for valid contrasts to be drawn between the various parts of the coinage ... By the autumn of 1982 [following analyses of Eanred's coinage] plans were laid for the analysis of a considerable number of coins by each of the various moneyers (of Æthelred II, Reduulf, Osbert and the archbishops) in each group. Unfortunately, because of

departmental difficulties in Bradford, analysis there came to an end almost before this project had begun: only [58] coins of Leofthehn ... were examined [in 1983]'

and on page 46:

'It is one of the regrets arising from this present work, that no major analysis-project for York's later specimens, other than that published in 1987 (Gilmore and Pirie), has been completed.'

It is true that there were insufficient data from the 1982 and earlier experiments for valid contrasts to be drawn between different parts of the coinage from Æthelred onwards, but this was substantially rectified in an important contribution to the 1987 symposium by D.M. Metcalf and J.P. Northover, 'The Northumbrian royal coinage in the time of Æthelred II and Osberht' (*ibid.* pp. 187–233). They reported and commented on the results of a detailed analysis of the composition of 120 coins of Æthelred, three of Osberht and thirty-one of the prolific blundered series. Pirie completely ignores that paper, notwithstanding that it was given to a symposium which she attended, and she even omits it from her bibliography despite citing three other papers on coinage alloy presented at the same time, one of which is the Gilmore and Pirie study (of Redwulf's coinage) and another is a shorter paper by Metcalf and Northover on the coins of a moneyer of Eanred ('Herreth', *ibid.* pp. 91–102). Given such an extraordinary omission, it is necessary to devote some space in this review to the implications of Metcalf and Northover's analysis for the validity of her hypothesis about the chronological significance of cruciform and non-cruciform motifs. With the reservation that the recorded composition of each coin is based on EPMA readings taken at three points on a polished section of the edge, so that the precision of results published to two places of decimals is somewhat spurious, those results can be related to Pirie's catalogue as follows:

- (a) On Plates 14–19 of the symposium volume Metcalf and Northover illustrate 116 regular and near-regular coins. When these are allocated to Pirie groups, they yield 36 coins of Group A (including two of Redwulf and one of Wigmund), 8 of Group B (including one of Redwulf), 49 of Group Ci (including three of Redwulf), 20 of Group Cii, and 3 of Group Ciii (two of them of Redwulf). Of the 74 coins of Æthelred in Groups B and C, 47 would be classed by Pirie as first reign, 3 as 'Descendants which may have been struck [from regular obverse and irregular reverse dies] during the usurpation of Redwulf', and 24 as second reign. Of the 33 coins of Æthelred in Group A, several would be asterisked as indicative of belonging to the second reign.
- (b) On Plates 20 and 21, they illustrate 31 coins which are irregular or meaningless and three in the name of Osberht. (There are also three forgeries.) None of these 34 coins was shown to contain more than 0.37% silver (the apparent exception, no. 139, shown as 2.23%, must be an error because it brings the total metallic content to 101.87%).

- (c) Returning to Plates 14–19, fifteen out of twenty coins of Æthelred's moneyer Eardwulf (Group Ci) showed 0.14% silver (Ag) or less. One of these (no. 107) is doubly cruciform, the other 14 are not. The remaining five (nos. 102, 103, 106, 112 and 120) showed between 0.73% and 2.28% silver; again, one (no. 106, 1.01%, a duplicate of 107), is doubly cruciform. The three Descendants also registered very low levels of silver, namely 0.05% (no. 36, Ci), 0.39% and 1.18% (nos. 85–86, Cii).
- (d) Seven of the eight coins of Redwulf showed at least as much silver as the best of the Æthelred/Eardwulf pieces, namely 2.20% and 2.69% (Ci), 2.67% and 3.29% (A), 3.30% and 4.43% (Cii), and 4.56% (B). All these are doubly cruciform. The other (no. 98, Ci) showed only 0.09%; its reverse is not cruciform. (A doubly cruciform coin by the same moneyer, Monne, from a similar obverse die was reported by Gilmore and Pirie to show 0.10% silver.)
- (e) Ten doubly cruciform coins which Pirie would date before Redwulf showed less silver than any of the Redwulfs except the last. Eight of them showed less than 2.25% but more than 1%, the lowest being 1.48% (nos. 44 and 72, Ci; 33, 34, 45, 48 and 50, Cii; and 51, Ciii; these include five of the seven specimens of the moneyer Cunemund). The others are two die-linked specimens of Æthelred's moneyer Alghere with 0.10% and 0.59% (nos. 59 & 60, Ci); Metcalf and Northover comment (p. 204) that 'they are obvious candidates for reattribution to Æthelred's second reign'.
- (f) Six coins of Æthelred in groups other than A and by moneyers other than Eardwulf are not doubly cruciform and Pirie would therefore date them after Redwulf. One of these showed a low silver content of 1.86% (no. 32, Cii) but the others showed between 3.64% and 9.32% (nos. 23, 24, 80–81, Ci, and 31, Cii).
- (g) Thirty of the 33 coins of Æthelred in Group A showed a silver content between 3.92% (no. 30) and 11.92% (no. 6), several of them of varieties that would be asterisked by Pirie as likely to belong to the second reign. The other three registered 2.08% (no. 11), 2.47% (no. 22) and 3.24% (no. 90); none of them is doubly cruciform.

From this analysis it does not seem to have mattered much in most of Æthelred's first reign whether the silver content was, say, 3%, 6% or 9%. G.R. Gilmore ('Metal analysis of the Northumbrian stycas: review and suggestions', *ibid.* pp. 159–73) suggests that any control of silver which had existed in Eanred's reign had been abandoned and that the coinage alloy up to and including Redwulf may have consisted of a mixture of new brass (some 25% zinc and 75% copper), recycled old coins with a substantial content of silver, and a little tin. The resulting silver proportion would depend on how much old coinage was available to be included in the melt on any given day. If that view is correct, one would expect the virtual absence of silver in the first-reign Descendants and in the second-reign coinage of the moneyer Eardwulf to signify that the

supply of old coinage had become exhausted. It is true that the Hexham hoard, deposited after the silver had begun to disappear from new coins, contained a substantial proportion of coins of Eanred of better silver, but Hexham is far from York and it does not follow that the money supply in the two locations had the same composition.

So could the results of Metcalf and Northover's analysis be reconciled with Pirie's cruciform hypothesis on the basis that coins must have been struck occasionally with 1% of silver or less before Redwulf, and more frequently with 2% or more in the first years of Æthelred's second reign? It does not seem probable. Gilmore (*ibid.* p. 171) shows that by the time of Osberht and Archbishop Wulfhere even the brass had become of poor quality. Virtual absence of silver in coins of Æthelred seems more likely, therefore, to be a defining characteristic of his second reign.

Why in this catalogue did Pirie ignore Metcalf and Northover and, in the process, allow herself to exercise no judgment on the results of various metal analyses? It must be because, although published in 1996, the catalogue is essentially a pre-1987 compilation. Metcalf and Northover's analysis exposes potentially fatal weaknesses in the cruciform hypothesis. However, leaving aside the moneyer Eardwulf, too few coins outside Group A which are not doubly cruciform were included to enable any view to be taken on the extent to which such coins might have been minted with a negligible silver content by first-reign moneyers. Such minting would provide what is currently lacking for most of those moneyers, namely evidence that they operated again for Æthelred when he was restored and were not adversely treated if they had worked for Redwulf in the meantime. More coins of Wigmund's moneyers need also to be analysed to determine whether there is evidence for any of them having operated after the restoration. It is regrettable that Pirie did not arrange for the necessary work to be done, if not in Bradford then perhaps in Oxford, following the 1987 symposium, though the omission would be understandable if she had feared that the outcome might have caused her to reject her own hypothesis. In that event the reworking involved would have been so extensive that the publication of the catalogue would probably have been abandoned.

We must therefore accept it as it is and learn to use it while recognising and pointing out its serious shortcomings, as this review has attempted to do, for when all is said and done the catalogue is a testimony to Elizabeth Pirie's mastery of recording, photographing and die-analysing large volumes of unpromising material and to the many years she put into this work. It is hard to think of anyone else who would have dared to undertake it, not least to unravel the extensive derivative and imitative series which she classifies as Descendants or, in a separate Group D, as Irregulars or Reflectives (the latter comprising 356 different die-combinations linked together in a single die chain).

For the regular coinage a number of visual patterns

of die-combinations illustrate her work. It would have been better had she denoted obverse dies by squares rather than by slightly larger circles than she uses for reverse dies. Also, at the risk of pursuing a point which may be thought to have been adequately covered in other ways, it should be mentioned that her division between the two reigns of Æthelred of the coins of moneyers who also worked for Redwulf is seen to result in rather too many reverse dies which originated in the first reign being regarded as having been reused in the second reign, but thereby improbably left unused during Redwulf's usurpation in favour of newly

engraved dies. Finally, this reviewer finds her convention for referring to rulers and moneyers idiosyncratic: Uigmund in preference to the conventional Wigmund, for example.

To sum up: Miss Pirie's catalogue, the result of many years of diligent and painstaking recording and die-analysis, is now an indispensable work of reference for the styca series, but students wishing to use it need to be aware that key criteria for its arrangement will probably prove to be seriously flawed.

STEWART LYON

REVIEWS

A History of Money, from Ancient Times to the Present Day, by G. Davies (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1994; revised paperback edition with postscript, 1996), 672pp.

THE first half of this book gives a wide and quite detailed survey of primitive currency and coins during the many centuries during which they provided the principal means of exchange. In the second half we see how gradually, at different times in different places, the function of money came to include credit and credit instruments, the expansion of which reduced and finally marginalised the role of currency.

We are shown, clearly and in order, the enormously important developments which occurred in our own lifetimes, but which often did not make such a clear impression at the time. Bretton Woods, the origin and functions of S.D.R.s (Special Drawing Rights), G.A.T.T. and lots more are all here, and will give one a far better understanding of the twentieth century than is enjoyed by the average man in the street. The present reviewer was once professionally involved, to some modest extent, with many of the crises, and their following Reports (having been a member and later chairman of the Association of Corporate Trustees), and left the volume feeling rather like a former soldier who reads a magisterial history of a war and now sees things so much clearer than it seemed at the time!

Coins are not absent from this part – did you realise that the U.S.A. Silver Purchase Act of 1934 indirectly forced China off the silver standard and reduced silver coinage worldwide? There is also much more coin information to be found among the banking developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the author is very generous with his facts.

Maybe the numismatist will be tempted to bridle at a few slips; did Alexander's empire extend to Gibraltar, and did ancient Lydia 'portray' its kings on coins? Perhaps he has in mind badges or perhaps the 'kneeling/running archer' on Persian coins attributed to Sardeis. A sestertius was not more valuable than a denarius (p. 87, but the correct relationship is given on the following page). The reference to Valerian's reform at p. 100 should presumably be to Aurelian's; the portrait coins of Julius Caesar are usually attributed to his supporters after his death, rather than showing his personal attitude; Wilkinson's tokens were not struck in iron as well as copper (if there is a trial striking in iron, I have missed it); at p. 521 'dollar' is surely a misprint for 'gold'. In no case, however, do these slips affect the argument.

I would question whether clipping or counterfeiting point to the demand for money exceeding the supply – as an economic concept – leading the more entrepreneurial elements to overcome the constraints of

money supply by illicit means. One could argue that these activities continue even when the general money supply is adequate (e.g. at the present day, or when Mohammed III ibn Tughluq in fourteenth-century Delhi issued fiduciary copper tankas instead of silver. Some individuals always think their personal money supply is inadequate!)

Whilst many economic and numismatic terms are explained, the reader might welcome even more explanation, e.g. of dirty floating.

In recent years numismatists have become more interested in the use of money, moderating the (1924) criticism that 'The numismatist usually knows nothing of currency for he has only to deal with its dead body' (Knapp's *Theory of Money*, quoted at p. 26). Any numismatist who has read this book, with its scholarly and very complete account of the development and use of money, should escape that criticism, just as economists who read it will really learn a lot about coins. It is astonishing that one man, no matter what his support, can command so much detailed information. It is nice too to see frequent references to the work of Dr Challis, who has done so much to show numismatists the economic aspects of their study. Like Dr Challis, the author manages to tell the story in a very interesting and readable way.

A.J. HOLMES

A History of Money from AD 800, by John F. Chown. Paperback edition (London and New York, 1996), ix + 306pp.

OF the three sections into which this book is divided – Money as Coin, the Development of Credit and Banking, and Inconvertible Paper Money – it is the first which in all probability will be of most interest to readers of this *Journal* and it is to this section, surveying the evolution of money from AD 800 to roughly the end of the nineteenth century, that the following comments apply.

First, because Mr Chown perceives himself as the author, not of a history for economists, but of an economist's view of history, he does not attempt a detailed account, country by country, chronological period by chronological period, of monetary developments; rather he focuses on what he sees as key periods of activity and the theoretical framework which underpinned what happened. This approach is undoubtedly of help in the discussion of bi-metallism but creates imbalance elsewhere; the Tudor debasement of the English coinage, which in essence lasted for only seven years, occupying almost as much space as the two preceding chapters which trace the earlier story from Carolingian times.

A second difficulty of which Mr Chown's readers

should be aware is that on far too many occasions his statements and conclusions will not bear critical examination. Page 3; the price indices which he uses do not support the notion that 'Henry VIII's Great Debasement produced a rate of inflation in England which was to remain unsurpassed until the days of Harold Wilson'. Page 4; there was no United Kingdom in 1696. Pages 13 and 61; milled coins were adopted, except for the odd issue of small change, in 1663 rather than in 1662 or 1696. Pages 16 and 52; Gresham was not 'responsible for clearing up the mess' of the Great Debasement, i.e. planning and implementing the recoinage of silver early in Elizabeth's reign. Such evidence as there is indicates that his involvement was limited to recommending that Daniel Ullstate and his Company be engaged to do the lion's share of the refining. Page 23; it is generally thought that the English shilling appeared in 1504 (rather than 1508) and it was certainly the case that it entered general circulation not under Edward VI but under his father, Henry VIII. Page 23; silver coins were struck in 1696 at 62s. per lb, not 66s. Page 26; Henry III succeeded to the English throne in 1216, not 1218. Page 39; the 15 gr English penny was introduced in 1413, not 1412, for which year no indenture is known. Page 41; the recoinage of silver in 1696 was carried through under William III, not Charles II. Page 44; in 1542 it was Sir Martin (not John) Bowes who was at the Tower mint. It is not true to say that 'no mint accounts survive' for 1556-8: there is one for Irish coinage in 1556. Page 45; there is no warrant for believing that the mints at York and Canterbury were established in 1545, specifically to coin ex-monastic plate. There was no further depreciation of gold by the indenture of 16 February 1548. Henry VIII died in 1547 not 1548. Page 46; York received its first instruction to coin groats in 1545, not 1548. There is a commission of 18 December 1550 in respect of fine gold and another of 14 April 1551 authorizing the striking of 3 oz silver, but there is no known indenture of 8 December 1550. Page 48, the 1545-6 issue contained 6 oz rather than 7 oz of fine silver. Page 49; at its worst, debased English gold contained only 73 (not 83) per cent of the gold in pre-debased coins, and debased silver contained only 17 (not 25) per cent of the silver in pre-debased coins. Page 53; there is no warrant for believing that the figures for mint output in the debasement period are seriously distorted by unrecorded mint activity from which the mint officials profited (Sharrington was the exception rather than the rule). Page 53; there was no restoration of the coinage in 1558. The sharp rise in prices in the 1550s has to be seen in the context of harvest failures and not simply attributed to debasement, which in any case had, by then, to all intents and purposes ceased. Pages 56-7; In January 1549 the mints were instructed to produce silver 666 (not 333) fine and the penny was rated at 5 (not 10) gr. There were no new coinages in July and December 1550 or in January 1559. As far as gold was concerned there were no new coinages in July 1550, April 1551 and January 1559; the issue of December 1550 was

994.8 not 970 fine. Coin values should be expressed in *d*, not *p*. Page 60; it is not true to say that after the Elizabethan recoinage 'there were no formal changes in the weight standards of English coins'. Both gold and silver were altered in 1601, and gold again under James I. There never ever was such a thing as 'Cromwell's "Commonwealth" (1649-60)'. Finally, it is simply unfair on the reader to assert on pages 133-4 that the Tower was being used as a safe deposit during the reign of Charles I and that the 'tax measures and disputes' of that time 'go a long way to explain this stage in the development of banking' without offering any supporting documentary evidence.

In short, this is a book which should be used with care and most certainly revised, if the possibility arises of a further edition.

C.E. CHALLIS

English Hammered Coinage, Volume 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600-1272, by J.J. North (third edition, Spink & Son, London 1994). 271pp, 20 photo plates. Cloth. £35.

WHEN reviewing the previous edition of *English Hammered Coinage*, vol.1, in the early 1980s, it fell to the present reviewer to commence his remarks with an explanation of how it had been that there was a distinct time lapse between the date of the book's publication and the appearance of his review. Once again there has been a time lapse, again through no fault of the reviewer, and once again it is a pleasure to be able to welcome a new edition of a book which provides the most reliable up-to-date listing of the coinage struck in England between the seventh century and the death of King Henry III. The welcome is the warmer because with every edition that passes the picture of the coinage that is presented becomes more precise and more genuinely useful to anyone with a serious interest in the English hammered series.

As the author records in his preface, there have been considerable advances in knowledge over the last fifteen years, and these are largely reflected in the changes that he has made to his text and plates. Change has been most dramatic in the pages dealing with the coinages struck in the second and third quarters of the tenth century, where North's previous text has been almost entirely recast to take account of the new classification provided by Blunt, Stewart and Lyon in their invaluable *Coinage in Tenth-century England* (British Academy, London 1989, still in print). Here, as elsewhere, North has retained the numbering used in earlier editions, slotting in additional items with numbering in the form 751/1.751/2.751/3 and so on. Although this is certainly convenient for those who are accustomed to cite coins by their North numbers, it perpetuates one serious anomaly of arrangement and numbering by which coins of Eadgar's Reform type are separated from coins of Eadward the Martyr of the same type by ten numbers relating to Eadgar's pre-Reform issues, and it is clear that in any future edition the numbering system as a whole ought to be rethought.

North has also deferred to a future edition a proper revision of his text on the coinage of Eadweard the Elder, for which Stewart Lyon has provided an extensive new classification in the 1989 volume already cited. It is understandable that North should have acted as he has, for Lyon's classification is rather hard to summarise, but some of its salient points are simple enough, and this reviewer can record from practical experience that Lyon's is one of the few classifications that is easier to apply in practice than it may seem in print.

Outside the tenth century the most substantial area of change is in the treatment of the coinage of the first half of the twelfth century, where our knowledge of the material seems to be in a state of continuous transformation. The emergence of new baronial issues of Stephen's reign is the most eye-catching feature, but North has also made numerous unobtrusive improvements to his lists of mints and moneyers for the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, as well as signalling scholars' changing opinions about the dating of these kings' substantive types. It is also pleasing that steady progress is being made with the Short Cross and Long Cross coinages of the early Plantagenet kings, and here North's text embodies the very latest research by himself, Martin Allen and Robin Davis.

In the Anglo-Saxon period the pattern of advance outside the middle years of the tenth century is more patchy. The sections that deal with thrymsas and sceattas, with the coinage of the age of Offa and with the coinage of the independent kingdom of East Anglia all more or less reflect the state of current research, and the pages that deal with the coinage from Eadgar's reform to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period have been improved; North must one day provide lists for this period showing which moneyers are known for which types, but his decision not to do so for the present edition is correct, as a broadly satisfactory list of this character has recently been published by Kenneth Jonsson and Gay Van der Meer and it is still a little early for North to appropriate the information in it for his own book.

There remain some areas where progress has been less perceptible. Here, it must be confessed, the fault is not solely attributable to the author, but almost as much to specialists such as the present reviewer who have not thought fit to communicate to North necessary emendations to the text of his earlier editions. Thus, North's text on Burgred remains virtually unaltered from that which appeared in his first edition, published as long ago as 1963, although it would have been easy enough for the present reviewer to supply North at any time with a revised version eliminating doubtful names and showing which moneyers are known for which reverse types; this confession of guilt on the reviewer's part is prompted by the discovery that in his copy of the first edition he drew ink lines some thirty years ago through the names Adhelm (same moneyer as Tid(e)helm) and Idiga (occurring only on a crude imitation of a coin of the moneyer Diga), but never got round to passing this information on. North's text on

the Northumbrian styca coinage would also have benefited from outside specialist expertise, although here the position is rather more complicated.

Yet the fact that there are still parts of North's book that can be improved should be viewed not so much as a blemish but as an inducement to its author and publisher to produce yet another edition before too many years pass. North was wise enough back in the 1960s to settle on a format which has worked, and the prospect of future editions in the twenty-first century is one to which we will all look forward.

HUGH PAGAN

The English Coinage 1180–1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges, by John D. Brand, British Numismatic Society Special Publication 1, 1994. 92pp., 5 plates.

ALTHOUGH running to fewer than a hundred pages this volume, containing John Brand's MA thesis of 1981, includes a remarkable amount of information and discussion of relevance both to numismatists and to economic historians. The body of the book consists of seven main chapters on various aspects of the English Short Cross coinage or related topics. Added to these are two appendices on weights and fineness and a long bibliography. The book is well produced and has been efficiently edited by Mr N.J. Mayhew, who has appended some further numismatic material.

In the first chapter, by way of introduction (pp. 1–5), the author gives a useful account of the history of numismatic study of the Short Cross series. Early writers were for long in dispute as to whether these coins in the name of King Henry should be attributed to Henry II or to Henry III, until Longstaffe and Evans in the 1860s not only resolved the matter by demonstrating that some belonged to each of them, but also solved another problem by showing that others were struck in the reigns of Richard I and John and so filled a gap in the English series which had puzzled students for generations.

In a broad survey of 'Coinage and Currency' (pp. 6–17) Brand then examines the economic background, drawing attention to the rise in mint output from the end of the twelfth century, the needs of an expanding population and the consequences for prices. After a third section on 'Moneyers and Mints before 1180' (pp. 18–23), in which he describes the more variable and less centralised organisation of minting in Saxon and Norman times, the author reaches the central and most important theme of his work, the nature and functions of the exchanges which were a key part of Henry II's monetary reform of 1180.

The two chapters entitled 'The New Exchanges of 1180' (pp. 24–31) and 'The Administration of the Exchanges until 1247' (pp. 32–48) constitute the fullest study in existence of the documentary evidence for the new system which separated the function of exchanging old or foreign money and bullion from the manufacture of new coin and brought the coinage and currency more directly under central royal control. In Brand's words, 'the Short Cross period saw the inception and first

development of a minor Department of State', and his survey is as full of interest in the light it throws on medieval English financial administration as it is for providing an explanation of the background to the fundamental changes in the scale and nature of English coinage which took place under Henry II and his successors.

During his research into the documentary records Brand had to confront a number of basic questions about the valuation placed on parcels of coin accounted to the exchequer. This led him to include a long section on 'The Fineness of the Coinage Silver' (pp. 58-69) and two appendices, one about certain fines of the early 1180s made in old money but paid in new, the other about weight standards and the origins of sterling silver.

The part of Brand's text which may prove to be of most abiding value to the practical work of numismatists is the section on the records of the individual mints (pp. 49-57) in which he has collected together, town by town, the documentary references to mints and moneyers in the official rolls and set these out together with information about the moneyers from their surviving coins. There is also a full bibliography of historical and numismatic works (brought up to date by the editor in respect of Short Cross numismatics), an additional appendix containing die statistics of the mints of Winchester and Bury St Edmunds respectively produced by the work of Mrs Harvey and Mr Eaglen, and five plates of coins with detailed descriptions, illustrating all the main varieties of Short Cross coins recognised by modern students.

The new series of Special Publications, of which this is the first volume, has been made possible by a generous bequest to the Society from the late Roy Osborne. The choice of John Brand's last main work for its subject matter is a happy compliment to the memory of our late President and something of a penance for the way in which he was treated during his lifetime by the Society to which he had given such devoted service.

LORD STEWARTBY

Coincraft's Standard Catalogue of English and UK Coins, 1066 to date, by R. Lobel, M. Davidson, A. Hailstone & E. Calligas (2nd edn., Coincraft, London, 1997). 740 pages, illustrated. £19.95.

THIS book follows the trend set by Krause & Mishler's *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, for cheaply printed, vast and would-be comprehensive 'telephone directory' numismatic references. Now in its second edition, we can see what improvements have been made from the first, published in 1995. Apart from the new hard cover (for the same price!) they are not great. Though a number of illustrations have been added, they remain of an uneven standard, and the poor paper does not do them justice. The opportunity has not been taken to make any substantial changes, though if we are to expect a new edition every two years we can hope for a gradual evolution. Listings, of course, have been brought up to date and so, the publishers would have us

believe, have valuations: but in many fields they seem to remain as unreliable as ever, seemingly more aimed at dealers than collectors. Perhaps they should only be taken as a general guide to relative rarity. The 'Collecting Hints' are possibly useful, but repetitive, too long-winded and set in a fashion which takes up far too much room. An Appendix now reproduces in facsimile a variety of legal enactments and other contemporary documents relating to the coinage. Though interesting, and difficult for the non-specialist to find elsewhere, they seem to be out of place in a catalogue which is essentially ephemeral.

It is difficult to see the justification for the present arrangement, unless the publishers felt it had to look as unlike Seaby's catalogues as possible! They need not have worried: it does not compete. In fact the arrangement, in my view, makes the catalogue very hard to use, especially in the hammered series. The starting-point is arbitrary: however significant the date 1066 may be in our political history, it is not of great importance to the numismatist. The coinage of the Norman kings is a continuation of that of the Anglo-Saxons; the Conqueror's pennies follow on from those of Edward the Confessor and Harold II without a break. But the prime division into hammered and milled is of course justified, though if strictly observed it would result in the precocious productions of Mestrelle and Briot being out of historical context. However, there are other revolutionary dividing dates in English coinage history which it might have been profitable to observe, which for the most part transcend the reigns of monarchs. The listings, if they cannot go back (yet) to the very beginnings, could have started more logically with the unification of England under Edward the Elder, if not even with the introduction of the silver penny in the 8th century. Other natural divisions are at the 'sterling' coinage (Edward I), the introduction of true portrait coins (Henry VII), the reform of 1816-17 (George III), and at decimalization (1971). At none of these points, except the last, is a definite line drawn.

In the hammered section the determination to arrange the coins rigidly by denomination irrespective of reign is bewildering. Inflation over the centuries makes nonsense of putting, for instance, the gold florin (1343, p. 139) between the angel and the crown, simply on the basis of the number of pennies it nominally contained. The unfortunate and pointless mingling of gold and silver denominations results in a frank muddle, especially for Henry VIII, who issued a dozen different gold denominations, more than any other ruler. No clear historical picture of the coinage thus emerges. Any collector advanced enough not to need a guide here will probably not need this book at all, except as an indicator of relative rarity. We all know of collectors who concentrate on a single denomination, but surely they are in a minority. Most of us are interested in coins of a particular reign or period, and this book serves us ill in this respect.

Although your reviewer does not feel himself qualified to pronounce on the details of the listing of hammered coins, the enlarged illustrations of

'mintmarks' (initial marks), especially the photographs, are of obvious value. So too are the diagrams of the classes of short cross, long cross and sterling pennies (Henry II–Edward III, pp. 309–29), and here alone, perhaps, is the decision justified to treat all of a single denomination together. But one cannot escape the feeling of having seen these diagrams somewhere else before. It is surprising to find the 'portcullis' coinage of Elizabeth I (p. 396) included, as these were purely colonial,¹ but why not?

In the milled section, the denominational arrangement (as in Seaby's *English Silver Coinage from 1649*) is less confusing, though still deplorable. Here the chief fault I find is that the level of die variety considered worthy of inclusion is frankly inconsistent. To take extremes: in a scarce denomination with no true die varieties (quarter guinea, p. 465) a trivial die crack is raised to the status of a separate obverse, while (p. 594) the halfpennies of Elizabeth II, which your reviewer knows (none better) to bristle with interesting varieties, are given a scant straightforward treatment without even the main reverse types being distinguished. Yet surely the number of collectors, mainly no doubt of moderate means, interested in 'ship' halfpennies must greatly exceed those collecting George I gold. In the 'bun' bronze (1860–95) selected varieties are included, including some patterns, but by no means all. From this (as well as the prices) we can gather that the book is actually designed not for collectors but for dealers, to whom it may be worth while pointing out a price-enhancing flaw in an expensive coin, but who cannot spend time poring over thousands of 'ship' halfpennies to find a scarce variety!

One finds a few errors in the illustrations. On p. 535 the William IV sixpence seems to have the same reverse as obverse, and on p. 418 the George VI five-sovereigns has the obverse of Edward VIII (correctly depicted on the page before). Both of these were correctly shown in the first edition, so how did this happen? There are doubtless others. The Edward VIII brass threepence listed is of the George VI reverse type (p. 557); the Madge Kitchener reverse type is not mentioned, presumably dismissed as a pattern – but are not *all* coins with Edward's portrait strictly patterns? There is no difference between 'obverse 2' and 'obverse 3' in the George V Maundy coins (p. 615–6); it was the *reverses* which were modified in 1930. And whatever happened to the William III 'second bust' half crown of 1696, with hair across the breast (Seaby *ESC* 540)? Is this a pattern too? In which case how does it differ in status from the corresponding unique shilling (it was sold recently), which *is* included (p. 516)?

But despite carping, this is a useful and desirable book, and these days exceedingly good value for the money. Long may it remain so. To find one's way round

it, especially in the hammered section, may require practice, but let us hope there will be regular editions in the future, in which the way will be made easier. In fact, if these defects (and no doubt others which a relatively casual perusal has not revealed), all of which seem to be merely teething troubles, are put right, then *Coincraft* is well set to become an institution like *Seaby* before it. We likewise expect to see the Scottish and Irish issues included in future editions.

D.L.F. SEALY

Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillesamling (Danish coins from the 11th century in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals), edited by Jørgen Steen Jensen (National Museum, Copenhagen, 1995). 171 pp., including 57 plates.

THIS is a cased volume, beautifully presented with superb enlarged colour photographs on a black background. The text opposite each of the 57 plates is set in two columns, one Danish and the other English, and gives a general perspective against which the specimen coins illustrated can be viewed. More detailed information on the specific coins is relegated to the notes at the back of the book; these also identify the author of the Danish text of each plate. (Dr Mark Blackburn made a linguistic revision of the English versions.) Although the book is clearly directed at the general reader interested in mediæval Danish history, Mr Steen Jensen's introduction takes trouble to explain numismatic techniques such as die analysis and the significance of chains of die-links.

The plates are arranged thematically, illustrating – in a broadly chronological order – a particular mint (Lund, Roskilde, Slagelse, Ringsted, Viborg, Ribe, Orbæk, Ålborg, Odense, Hedeby); a design or inscription (e.g. a 'Serpent'; a quotation from St John's Gospel; the Tree of Life; the Hand of God; the Lamb of God and the Dove of the Holy Spirit; the Triquetra symbol; magic coin inscriptions; Saint Olav; the first Madonna); a circumstance (e.g. a hoard under church foundation stones; chaos in Lund between c. 1040 and c. 1044; pecked, bent and cut coins); or a question for discussion (e.g. Denmark's first Romanesque double arch? Die flaw or control mark? How did they calculate and count? The first episcopal coin of Roskilde? Did a monetary economy exist everywhere in Denmark?).

For the student of English coinage the book's main interest lies in the relationship of the Danish to the English coinage in the early eleventh century, its importing and copying of English dies, and its subsequent divergence. Mr Steen Jensen explains in the introduction that, although coins had been struck in Denmark for several hundred years beforehand, the volume marks the millennium of the first coin to bear

¹ The only other colonial strikings included are the usual 19th/20th century three-halfpence and fractional farthings, etc..

but not the British Far East trade dollar.

both the name of a Danish king (Svend Tveskæg, better known in England as Sweyn Forkbeard) and that of his country. Illustrated on Plate 1 and known from a mere eight specimens, all from the same obverse and two reverse dies, Svend's coinage was modelled, rather crudely, on the *Crux* issue of Æthelred II of England (conventionally dated to c. 991–7), as were the contemporary issues of Olaf Tryggvason in Norway and Olof Skötkonung in Sweden which are illustrated on Plate 2. The Norwegian issue is represented today by five coins, all from the same pair of dies and, like Svend's, names the moneyer as Godwine. If, as is probable, the same person – presumably an Anglo-Saxon – was involved in each case, he must soon have moved on and the coinages must have been purely symbolic. His final destination may have been Sigtuna, the mint named on the extensive Swedish coinage of Olof Skötkonung in which a Godwine was one of the moneyers, although Mr Steen Jensen does not go so far as to suggest this identity in his text.

Some twenty years passed before the next issue of coins in the name of a king of Denmark, this time Svend's son, Cnut the Great. These coins copied Æthelred's *Last Small Cross* type; those illustrated on Plate 4 are from one obverse and three reverse dies which were probably made locally, two of the latter having blundered inscriptions and the third naming a moneyer Ascetel at the mint of Lund (now in southern Sweden). The dating of this issue presents a problem, because it used to be thought that Cnut could not have issued coins in Denmark before his return there in 1019 following the death of his brother Harald, who had succeeded Svend as king. On the other hand the *Last Small Cross* type cannot realistically have been continued in England in Æthelred's name for more than a few months after Cnut was acknowledged as king of the whole country at the end of 1016, and would Cnut have struck in Denmark in 1019 a type that had been replaced in England, probably in 1017, with a new one (*Quatrefoil*) in his own name? It may seem unlikely, and yet in 1900 Hauberg illustrated a coin in Cnut's name, not in the Royal Collection, which bears the Danish title and is ostensibly from Lund but copies Æthelred's *Long Cross* type of c. 997–1003; the moneyer is given as Berhtnoth, a name found with variant spellings on *Helmet*, *Last Small Cross* and *Quatrefoil* reverses which are involved in chains of muled die-links that would have been inconceivable in England (see *BNJ XXX*, Plate XIII), though the possibility that the engraver was blindly imitating the contemporary London moneyer Brihtnoth cannot be ruled out.

Berhtnoth's *Long Cross* copy cannot be contemporary with the English issue of that type. However, there exist (but are not illustrated in this

volume) coins of Cnut with the Danish title struck from three *Last Small Cross* obverse dies that appear to have been specially made by the die-cutting workshop in Lincoln for a moneyer Godwine (the same person as before?) at Lund.

Significantly, Dr Blackburn, who wrote the text of Plate 4 in conjunction with Mr Steen Jensen, has shown elsewhere that the style of portraiture on those dies antedates the latest dies in Æthelred's name made for Lincoln moneyers,¹ and the text therefore points out that this coinage may have been struck in 1014–15 when Cnut appears to have contested with his brother Harald the succession to Svend's Danish crown.

A coin of *Last Small Cross* type but with Cnut's name and English title is illustrated on Plate 12, which is headed 'English dies used at Viborg?' As is explained in the text, written by Dr Blackburn, the obverse die is also found combined with a number of *Quatrefoil* reverses. Like the obverse, the reverses are of good style and could well pass as English, not least because names of English mints, if not English moneyers, are found on them. Dr Blackburn gives reasons for believing that the dies are all Danish products and are representative of a gradual transition from purely imitative issues to coins with meaningful legends naming Danish mints. However, there is no doubt that some *Quatrefoil* obverse dies made in Lincoln and bearing Cnut's English title were sent abroad (see again *BNJ XXX*), presumably in response to a Danish request, and it would be natural for reverse dies to have been supplied with them; may it not be that the engraver had not been briefed on the mint-name to be added to that of the prescribed moneyer and therefore chose an English one to complete the inscription?

Not only dies made in Lincoln were exported. Two *Quatrefoil* obverses of London C style with the English title and accompanying reverses for a moneyer Siric were supplied to a mint which may have been Ribe. The mint is spelt in various ways, the most complete being RICYEBII on a die represented in Stockholm by a coin struck on a square flan (*BEH* 3060); the obverse legend is typical in starting at 7 o'clock. However, the coin illustrated on Plate 14 is from the other obverse die, the legend unusually beginning at about 12 o'clock, and the mint-signature on the reverse (which may perhaps be a local copy) is RINHE. Also illustrated is a coin from the same reverse die and a barbarous obverse imitating the *Pointed Helmet* type. It is a pity that the English *Quatrefoil* coin illustrated for comparison is not of the same London style.

Plate 9 illustrates nine pence of Cnut's *Short Cross* type which Mr Steen Jensen attributes to the London mint. They were among a hoard of 108 coins, sixty of them Danish in the name of Harthacnut but apparently

¹ 'Do Cnut the Great's first coins as king of Denmark date from before 1018?', in *Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis. Nova Series 6. Sigtuna*

Papers, edited by Kenneth Jonsson and Brita Malmer (Stockholm and London, 1990), 55–68.

struck in Cnut's lifetime, which was found in 1954 under the foundations of the church at St Jørgensbjerg. The nine coins are from the same pair of dies, which is remarkable given that the total English content of the hoard is put at only twenty-five. No systematic study of the *Short Cross* type has yet been published, though the style of these coins causes this reviewer to suggest that they are not what they seem, but are Danish copies made to a new standard of competence. First, the lettering is larger and more regular in shape than on genuine London dies. Secondly, there is no gap as is typically found on English dies between the front projecting peaks of the king's head of hair, and the lines of the hair are finer and more abundant. Thirdly, a linear outer circle can nearly always be seen some distance inside the beaded edge on English *Short Cross* reverses, having the effect both of compressing the lettering and reducing the diameter of the inner circle compared with the preceding *Pointed Helmet* issue; if an outer circle exists on the St Jørgensbjerg die its diameter is such as to cause most of the beading to miss the flan. Fourthly, though not a decisive factor, the moneyer's name *Ægelwine* is spelt without the middle E. Nine die-duplicates of Danish copies would be unremarkable in a hoard probably buried during the currency of the prototype; there are another two specimens (from different sources) in *SCBI* Copenhagen IIIB, nos. 1962 and 1964.

Although English types – particularly *Long Cross* – continued to be copied in Denmark for some years after Cnut's death, the series gradually developed its own character, and used original designs as well as other models with varying degrees of engraving skill. Much of the fascination of this intriguing book lies in the demonstration and interpretation of that development. Aimed at a general readership as it may be, it nevertheless has much to say to scholars also. It would have been helpful, particularly to the layman, if the text, rather than the end notes, had always made clear which of the coins illustrated on a plate were Danish and which were prototypes, but otherwise this is an excellent production.

STEWART LYON

Les Trésors monétaires médiévaux et modernes découverts en France, vol. II, (1223–1385), by Jean Duplessy, 181pp. (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1995).

Middeleeuwse Muntschatten Gevonden in België (750–1433), by Aimé Haeck, 287pp. (Cercle d'études numismatiques travaux 13, Bruxelles, 1996.)

THE almost simultaneous appearance of these two volumes, so closely related in subject matter, may justify a joint review in the pages of the *BNJ*, for the coinages of Britain figure largely in the medieval hoards of both France and Belgium. Nevertheless these two volumes are very different from one another: while Duplessy is printed on A4 size pages with a spacious layout making the catalogue entries easy to read, the Haeck catalogue, on smaller pages is printed landscape.

Duplessy is limited chronologically (cf. his earlier volume for 751 to 1223), Haeck covers the whole period 750 to 1433 in a single volume. Haeck offers also a note on fifty-two single finds, while Duplessy deals only with hoards. Duplessy's finds are arranged alphabetically by find-spot, Haeck's chronologically. Accordingly each has an index or chronological list to permit the reader to approach the finds by the alternative route.

These two very contrasting styles nevertheless both testify to the fundamental importance of the evidence of the finds for serious numismatic work. Both volumes will be indispensable. For whatever the deficiencies of the evidence – and many of the finds were originally inadequately recorded – and whatever uncertainties there may be about the attribution of some of the issues or the dating of some of the hoards – these meticulously gathered collections of evidence will always be essential starting points for anyone trying to understand the currency of France and Belgium. Their bibliographical data alone would make them invaluable, but both works also provide carefully reasoned summaries of the contents of each find.

Nor should anyone imagine that we are dealing here merely with compilations. This is not just a business of copying out dispersed accounts. Every original hoard report calls for a critical assessment of the recorded data in the light of modern knowledge. Hundreds of disparate reports have to be distilled in a consistent manner, which constitutes a very considerable intellectual challenge. As British numismatists we are rightly proud of our achievements in the classification of our national series, and we can be glad that the *Inventory* of British medieval hoards was among the first to demonstrate the importance of such hoard volumes, but perhaps the time is coming when we should look again to our national laurels. The *Inventory* is now over forty years old, and there is no new edition in sight. As we give thought to the need for a national scheme for the proper recording of single finds, we should also consider the case for an up-dated catalogue of hoards.

An example may serve to demonstrate what a formidable task a work of this sort can be. Consider the hoard of Saint Georges d'Annebecq, Duplessy 322–323. In the first place there were two finds, one from 1936, the other in 1981. (Multiple hoards might make an interesting subject on their own: one thinks of Aberdeen, or Ribnitz.) Are we looking at a single deposit, found in separate lots, or several hoards, concealed on one occasion or more? In the present case the two Annebecq finds appear to have *termini post quem* comfortably twenty or thirty years apart, but some numismatists might well think differently. Indeed, almost the only criticism one might voice of Duplessy's work is that perhaps he has dated the finds a little conservatively. This is not to suggest that Monsieur Duplessy is unaware of the thinking which leads some students to argue for a new dating of the *mailles tierces*. His difficulty is that though there are straws in the wind, the orthodox French chronology has not yet

adopted the latest suggestions. And if the author is to depart from orthodoxy in one case, he opens the door to a score of similar debates on other issues. Too ready acceptance of the latest fad could be exposed by time, but clinging to established views can rapidly appear old fashioned.

A similar degree of caution characterizes Duplessy's treatment of unprovenanced hoards, which he excludes on the grounds that it cannot be certain that such finds were truly French. Haack (p. 105), in contrast, is happy to list material in dealers' hands with only a presumed Belgian context. While respecting Duplessy's rigorous precision, there must be a good case for listing such finds in an appendix.

However, Duplessy does mention hoards which were not only concealed within the period 1223 to 1385, but also discovered then. Inevitably the recording of such finds leaves something to be desired, but the Paris find of 1302 of *gros tournois* and *mailles blanches*, like the stories in Boethius and Chaucer, is a fascinating reminder that buried treasure has been turning up for as long as people have been burying it. Curiously, by chance, another instance of a medieval discovery of gold coin in Rodez in 1370 has recently been published by Ann Wroe (*A Fool and his Money*, London, 1995), in a popularization of her Oxford DPhil thesis. Once again detailed numismatic information is lacking, but there is a good deal of light shed on the circumstances of this medieval find, and it does permit this unworthy reviewer to offer a small addition to the body of knowledge represented by these two invaluable works. Despite their differences, both Haack and Duplessy should be assured that their work has moved our subject on in a way that very few of us can claim.

N.J. MAYHEW

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 46: The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., Tokens of the British Isles 1575-1750. Part V Staffordshire to Westmorland, by R.H. Thompson and M.J. Dickinson. (Spink and Son Ltd, London, 1996), lxii + 220 pp., 51 pls.

WITH this present volume, the fifth in the series, Robert Thompson and Michael Dickinson continue their catalogue of the Norweb Collection of some 13,000 British seventeenth-century trade tokens amassed by the American numismatists the Hon R Henry and Emery May Norweb. Tokens from the counties of Staffordshire to Westmorland are described. Issues from Bedfordshire to Somerset have been covered by the previous four volumes. Monmouthshire is to be included with Wales, while London and Middlesex have yet to appear.

The volume is of a high standard in scholarship, photography and production. The fifty-one plates of very clear black and white photographs illustrate over 1200 tokens, and are accompanied by concise listings giving weight, metal and die axis alongside a description of each piece, its provenance, Williamson number, references to other works, and notes.

While full, the catalogue is not a comprehensive account of the tokens produced in these counties. The omissions, (Myles Rodgin of Mildenhall, Suffolk, to take one example) result from gaps in the Norweb Collection rather than oversights on the part of the authors. Several tokens are re-attributed: Surrey loses East Horsley to Gloucestershire; Chipping Sodbury, in the latter county, gains one at the expense of Sudbury, Suffolk. Warwickshire gains Chilvers Coton from Cotton, Suffolk, and Hanche 'Pits' from Staffordshire. Sussex loses Boreham Street to Essex. The collection adds several new locations to Williamson; Staffordshire gains two, while Suffolk and Surrey gain one each (Bures St Mary and Capel respectively.)

The largest number of tokens in the present volume represent Surrey. Whereas Williamson partly separated out those from the urban areas as 'Southwark', the authors divide the county more systematically into 'Surrey I' and the urban 'Surrey II'. To facilitate consultation, a concordance with Williamson's 'Southwark' (which refers mainly to the Borough High Street) is provided. Other locations are listed alphabetically. This rearrangement is one of the most significant features of the work and deserves to become a standard classification of these tokens.

The volume is provided with several indexes: places of issue; trades and other descriptions; issuers; letters in obverse and reverse types. Types are described in a classified index. At first this seems over-complicated, but it does enable them to be described concisely in the listings. An index to the classification carries cross-references to the Norweb catalogue numbers. The indexes should help identify even a worn specimen provided it is represented in the collection.

This is a fine addition to the available works on seventeenth-century tokens, and should not be missed by those interested in this field.

CHRISTOPHER MYCOCK

ITALIAM FATO PROFUGI - Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli, edited by R.G. Doty and T. Hackens, Numismatica Louvaniensia 12 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996). xxiv, 366 pp., illustrations in text. Available from Spink's at £150.

RARELY can it be said of a numismatic book that it has something for everyone but this volume must come as close to numismatic universality as any. Fourteen of the thirty-nine papers explore aspects of coinage in the ancient world, nine each are on Western Europe and the Americas, two each on the Balkans and East Asia, one each on Russian and Arabic topics, and one on coin collecting. The story of the lives of the dedicatees (pp. xviii-xxiii) is almost equally eclectic and reads like a sensational film script: from Romania to Italy to wartime Germany (including more than a year at Buchenwald Concentration Camp), back to Italy over the Brenner Pass (with their belongings in a wheelbarrow and their son, born in Berlin between bombings, in a pram) and finally, some years later, to

the United States.

The history of this *festschrift* itself also reflects some of the vicissitudes of the Clain-Stefanellis' lives: conceived in 1986 to be published on Mrs C.-S.'s seventy-fifth birthday in 1989, the papers were collected by that date, but complications (including the loss of some of the plates) kept postponing publication a further seven years. In the interim, several authors have died, others withdrew their submissions, and the views expressed in a few papers have been partially superseded by recent work by the authors themselves. Nevertheless, there remains fascinating material reflecting a wide range of contemporary numismatic research and thought:

MICHEL AMANDRY, *Agrippa et Tardani?*

PAUL ARNOLD, *Zwei bisher unbekannte Medaillen entwürfe für Herzog Heinrich zu Sachsen-Merseburg aus dem Jahre 1737.*

CARMEN ARNOLD-BIUCCHI, *Some New Cast Bronze Coins from Selinus at the ANS.*

PIERRE BASTIEN, *Remarques sur le Processus Consularis dans le monnayage romain.*

MICHAEL L. BATES, *An 'Abbāsīd Dinar of the Year 200 Hijra from Wāsit.*

PETER BERGHAUS, *Zu den graphischen Bildnissen Charles Patins.*

CHRISTOF BOEHRINGER, *Ein Lot kleiner Silbermünzen von Zankle-Messana.*

Q. DAVID BOWERS, *Coin Collecting: Maximizing the Rewards.*

WALTER BREEN, *Early American Tokens from Birmingham: Who, where, why?*

LEOPOLDO CANCIO, *Athenian Miscellanea.*

MAURICE COLAERT, *L'introduction du cupronickel dans le monnayage belge et ses suites.*

ALAIN COSTILHES, *Brazilian Gold Bars.*

ANNA MARIA CROSS LECANDA DE TORRES, *Mexicos, sus monedas en su historia.*

FRANÇOIS DE CALLATAÏ, *Les monnaies au nom d'Aesillas.*

GÜNTER DEMBSKI, *Die keltischen Münzen aus dem Schatzfund von Chişineu-Criş (ehemals Kisjenö) aus dem Kreise Arad in Rumänien.*

GEORGES DEPEYROT, *Les médailles d'or unificées du quatrième siècle (318-340).*

RICHARD G. DOTY, *The Parys Mine Company and the Industrialization of Money.*

WERNER GIESEBRECHT, *Frederick the Great and the United States of America.*

CORY GILLILLAND, *A Mint Director's Full Agenda.*

RAYMOND J. HEBERT, *The July 2, 1780 Emission of Rhode Island Bills of Credit.*

R. ROSS HOLLOWAY, *Further Notes on the Early Bronze Coinage of Syracuse.*

ROSE CHAN HOUSTON, *A Preliminary Investigation into the Gold and Silver Coinage Problem of Chinese Antiquity.*

OCTAVIAN ILIESCU, *Une ancienne médaille franco-roumaine (1859).*

BERNHARD KOCH, *Zum Problem der ungarischen Nachprägungen von Wiener Pfennigen.*

LARS O. LAGERQVIST, *A New Norwegian Coin Type from the 13th Century and its Disappearing Act.*

BRITA MALMER, *On Byzantine Coins from the Viking Age found in Sweden.*

WILLIAM E. METCALF, *Roman Dies in Modern Studies.*

LEO MILDENBERG, *Zu einigen sikulo-punischen Münzlegenden.*

MIGUEL L. MUÑOZ, *The Establishment of the Mexico Mint - First in America.*

PAUL NASTER, *Noms divins et anthroponymes en caractères araméens sur les monnaies de Cilicie (4e s. av. J.-C.).*

ERIC P. NEWMAN, *The Promotion and Suppression of Hard Times Tokens.*

BERNHARD H. OVERBECK, *Geschichtstaler König Ludwigs I. von Bayern-Zitate nach römischen Münzen.*

JACQUES A. SCHOONHEYDT, *Des monnayages du royaume du Siam.*

ALAN M. STAHL, *Victor D. Brenner and the American Numismatic Society.*

CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, *The Last of the Homeric World in Graeco-Roman Asia Minor.*

RAYMOND WEILLER, *Ein Münzgewicht aus Schloss Bourscheid.*

H. BARTLETT WELLS, *Macedonian Plated Gold Staters.*

G. MICHAEL WOŁOCH, *Comparative Representations of Imperial Status on Roman Medallions A.D. 317-326.*

RANDOLPH ZANDER, *The Platovs and their Medals.*

Chapter 1, Article 2, of the Rules of the British Numismatic Society call for 'the encouragement and promotion of Numismatic Science, and particularly in connection with the coins, medals and tokens of Great and Greater Britain and of the English-speaking races of the world'. With the addition of paper money, my remarks will be limited to those papers which fall under this rubric.

The late Walter Breen's essay on early American tokens from Birmingham and Richard Doty's on the Parys Mine Company explore similar problems of the copper tokens struck to relieve the shortage of small change on both sides of the Atlantic in the early days of industrialization. While Breen examines the situation in the fledgling United States, including tokens struck in England and often re-struck in America, Doty attempts to place the production of the Parys Mine Company tokens and the interests of Matthew Boulton at the Soho Mint of Birmingham. The illustrations in Breen's paper, although lettered, are not keyed to the text, and this requires constant checking to see which of the described pieces are illustrated (a thorough familiarity with the series would be helpful in this regard). Although not affecting his general thesis, Doty's statement, 'The Royal Mint struck no silver for general circulation (except for the modest issue of shillings and sixpences in 1787, completely inadequate to the need) between the end of the reign of George II and very

nearly the end of that of George III' (p. 173), should be modified. First, the large issue of silver threepences in 1762 and 1763 (some dozens of dies are known) certainly was chiefly for currency circulation. Such numbers were not required for the Maundy ceremony. Second, the 1787 shillings and sixpences were struck to order of the private Bank of England and were neither struck nor issued for general circulation. (In fact, the Bank retained most of them in their vaults for years and the relatively unworn condition of all specimens seen, testifies that they did not circulate – especially at a time when almost any round, silvery piece of metal could pass for lack of anything better.)

Werner Giesebrecht focuses on the minuet between representatives of the revolutionary colonies and the King of Prussia over recognition and a commercial treaty. Frederick was favourable to the establishment of trade (basically Silesian linen for Virginia tobacco) but Prussia lacked a navy 'and its merchant ships were not especially seaworthy' (p. 187). More importantly, while Frederick would have been pleased or even delighted to see Great Britain discomfited, he did not wish an open break and was content to wait until the outcome had been settled and other countries had led the way. The treaty, when it finally was signed in 1785, included humanitarian regulations to protect merchants and other civilians during wartime, inspired by the Enlightenment ideas of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson and wholeheartedly approved by the King.

The late Raymond Hebert's paper on Rhode Island's 1780 bills of credit illustrates the dependence of the colonies/early states on Spanish milled dollars to conduct trade before the U.S. Mint began striking coins in the 1790s. In fact, Spanish dollars and other foreign coins were legal tender in the United States until 1857. Cory Gilliland reflects this latter era by discussing the enormous demands placed on the director of the U.S. Mint during the year 1838. Among his many problems were securing the 104,960 British sovereigns of the James Smithson bequest, which constituted the initial funding of the Smithsonian Institution, and rapidly re-coining them.

Eric Newman discusses 'hard times' tokens,

especially the anti-slavery issues (AM I NOT A WOMAN AND A SISTER? / AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER?). Dated the same year as the arrival of the Smithson gold (1838), although struck somewhat earlier, the abolitionist issuers of these tokens were encouraged by British emancipation in 1834. The need for some form of small change became acute after the suspension of specie payments by American banks in 1837 and 'the withdrawal from general circulation of virtually all silver and gold coin and the emergency issue of paper money by individuals, businesses, cities and counties' (p. 294). That the tokens filled a genuine need was obvious. Although they readily circulated as cents for many years (some proclaim NOT ONE CENT), eventually the government suppressed them by threatening legal action, and another lively era in the chequered history of American coinage passed.

Finally, Alan Stahl's paper discusses the relationship of the American sculptor, Victor D. Brenner, with the American Numismatic Society. Brenner and Augustus Saint-Gaudens were the two American artists outside the U.S. Mint who are best-known today for their coin designs and both tried, not always successfully, to bring artistic excellence to the currency. Although generally favourable to Brenner, Stahl does not hesitate to criticize some of his designs that fall below a standard of artistic excellence. While the chosen illustrations are superb (as are almost all in this volume), one would wish for a few more photographs of non-Brenner medals mentioned in the text to compare with Brenner's. (Figures 1 and 2 have been switched on his first plate but this is so obvious that it does not detract from the presentation.)

Sturdily bound in green cloth on top-trimmed A4 glossy paper, which admirably presents the numerous illustrations, this is a book for many seasons. The few misprints noted do not obscure the texts and the only real criticism, that it is not as current as the publication date suggests (Mrs C.S.'s bibliography ends at 1989, for example), would not be pertinent had it been published, say, in 1990.

H.E. MANVILLE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1996

THE President, Mr G.P. Dyer, was in the chair at all meetings, which were held in the Warburg Institute.

23 JANUARY 1996. Messrs W. Dingler, R.A. Inder, R.L. Owens and D. Scott were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr Peter Woodhead read a paper entitled 'Dating the earlier gold coinages of Henry VI'.

27 FEBRUARY 1996. Messrs L.P. Dobson, J.R. Hulett, F.W. Mason, M.R. Vosper and J.R. Wallace were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr John Stafford-Langan read a paper entitled 'The Irish coinage of Edward IV: a revised chronology'.

26 MARCH 1996. Ms S.L. Lamb, Mrs J. Meadows, Mrs F. Simmons, Dr F. Collings and Mr W. Tatham were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr David Dykes read a paper entitled 'Samuel Garbett: entrepreneur, political lobbyist and coinage reformer'.

23 APRIL 1996. Messrs R Bishop, R.G. Lockren and A.G. Gray were elected to Ordinary Membership. The President presented the Council Prize to Mr Martin Allen. Dr Roger Bland read a paper entitled 'Late Roman precious-metal coin hoards from Britain: new light on some old problems'.

28 MAY 1996. Messrs R. Barras, P. Cook, P. Karon and N. Molyneux were elected to Ordinary Membership. The President presented the Sanford Saltus Medal to Mr J.J. North. Professor Peter Gaspar read a paper entitled 'A comedy of errors: the "withdrawn" sixpence of 1887'.

25 JUNE 1996. Mr J. Stafford-Langan was elected to Ordinary Membership and Mr Hendrik Makeler to Junior Membership. Mr Robert Lyall read a paper entitled 'Black Dogs and Silver Bitts: cuts, plugs and countermarks of the Caribbean'.

24 SEPTEMBER 1996. Dr J.B. Dawson and Mr I. Palmer were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr Luke Syson read a paper entitled 'Kings, Romans, Countrymen: the Dassiers' medallic series'.

22 OCTOBER 1996. Messrs G.N. Bennet, G.S. Parker and G.R. Turner were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr David Symons read a paper entitled 'The Saxon and Norman mint of Worcester'.

26 NOVEMBER 1996. Ms V. Salter and Messrs J.D. Ball and B.J. Mayell were elected to Ordinary Membership.

The following officers and Council were elected for 1997:

<i>President:</i>	G.P. Dyer
<i>Vice Presidents:</i>	C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby and P. Woodhead
<i>Director:</i>	B.T. Curtis
<i>Treasurer:</i>	T.G. Webb Ware
<i>Librarian:</i>	A.J. Holmes
<i>Secretary:</i>	J.D. Bateson
<i>Council:</i>	M.J. Anderson, E.M. Besly, A.M. Burnett, P.J. Casey, J.A. Davies, D.W. Dykes, C.R.S. Farthing, N.M. McQ. Holmes, P.H. Mernick, J.L. Morton, P. Robinson, M. Sinclair and P.J. Wise.

Council's proposal that the subscriptions for 1997 should remain unchanged at £24 for Ordinary Members and £10 for Junior Members was approved.

The President, Mr G.P. Dyer, then delivered his Presidential Address.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I have audited the Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account by reference to the books and records of the Society and supporting information and explanations.

In my opinion these financial statements are in accordance with those records and correctly show the state of the Society's Fund as at 31st October 1995 and of the Surplus of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

R.A. Merson, FCA
Honorary Auditor

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1995

1994			1995	
£	£		£	£
30,644		GENERAL PURPOSES FUND		
438		Balance at 1st November 1994		31,082
		Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year		180
<u>£31,082</u>		Surplus carried forward		<u>£31,262</u>
		Represented by:		
		ASSETS		
160		Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off		160
157		Stock of Medals		130
1,223		Sundry Debtors		1,100
		Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
130,000		Bank – Deposit Accounts	134,000	
990		Current Account	<u>3,714</u>	
				<u>137,714</u>
<u>132,530</u>				139,104
		Less: LIABILITIES		
	400	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund	400	
	167	Schneider Research Fund	167	
	8,604	Linecar Fund (Note 1)	8,720	
	60,859	Osborne Fund (Note 2)	64,052	
	7,761	Benefactors' Fund (Note 3)	8,038	
	–	Subscriptions received in advance	327	
	2,395	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	1,304	
	<u>21,262</u>	Creditors and Provision for Journals	<u>24,834</u>	
				<u>107,842</u>
<u>101,448</u>				
<u>£31,082</u>				<u>£31,262</u>

1: Linecar Fund	£	2: Osborne Fund	£	3: Benefactors' Fund	£
Balance at 1.11.94	8,604	Balance at 1.11.94	60,859	Balance at 1.11.94	7,761
Interest	466	Interest	3,297	Interest	420
Linecar Lecture	350	Brand Volume cost	3,865	Less: Cambridge Meeting	143
		Brand Volume receipts	<u>3,761</u>		
Balance at 31.10.95	<u>£8,720</u>	Balance at 31.10.95	<u>£64,052</u>	Balance at 31.10.95	<u>£8,038</u>

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1996

G.P. DYER

WE have just heard from the Treasurer a report of the very satisfactory state of the Society's finances, a preliminary indication of which enabled your late Council to recommend no change in the annual subscription, that uncompromising barometer of the financial health of the Society. I admit having begun to harbour the welcome and comforting thought that I may be able to complete my Presidency without an increase in the subscription and for this, but much more for his efficient administration of our financial affairs, I express due gratitude to our Treasurer, Tim Webb Ware.

The underlying health of the Society is also evident in our numbers. During the year we have elected thirty-one new members, of whom one is a junior, and allowing for deaths, resignations and the twelve members who have been amoved tonight membership now stands at 463 individual members and 122 institutional members. Ten years ago, when Hugh Pagan delivered the third of his Presidential Addresses, the combined membership was almost exactly 500. The increase to the current figure of 585 is not perhaps spectacular but I do not doubt that there are many societies who would like to point to a growth of seventeen per cent over the last ten years.

I mentioned deaths a few moments ago and although only one has been reported this year it has been a grievous loss. By the death of Joan Murray on 4 September we have been deprived of one of the great names of Scottish numismatics, for with her late husband Jock Murray she did so much by her acute observation and her enviable familiarity with archival sources to broaden and deepen our knowledge of Scottish coins. It was at the recommendation of Lord Stewartby that she joined the Society in 1965 and the value of her subsequent contribution was recognised by Honorary Membership in 1983 and by the presentation in 1987 of our highest award, the Sanford Saltus Medal, largely for her study of the coins of James III and James IV. She last spoke to the Society in March 1994, delivering an important paper on the coinage of Robert II, but her increasing frailty was apparent and I think many of us feared, as sadly proved to be the case, that this would be the final occasion on which she would address the Society.

On a happier note I have during the year made two presentations on your behalf. In May I had the pleasure of handing to Jeffrey North the Sanford Saltus Medal which by your vote you had awarded him in the ballot last November. His gracious words of appreciation acknowledged the assistance that, from the first, he had always received from other numismatists and I hope that such cooperation may never cease to be a feature of British numismatics. The previous month, April, I presented the Council Prize for numismatic achievement among the younger generation of scholars to Martin Allen, whose work on short cross and on the Durham mint was recognised by Council not just because of its intrinsic merit but also because of the less than perfect circumstances in which he conducts his research. It seemed to me that the words that were spoken on these two happy occasions should become a matter of permanent record and I am glad that the Editors have agreed to find space for them in the *Journal* that will carry this Presidential Address.

Our monthly meetings here at the Warburg Institute produced as usual an admirably varied programme to cope with the broad chronological range of members' interests. The ancient period was represented by Roger Bland's paper on late Roman precious-metal coin hoards, the Saxons and Normans by David Symons' study of the Worcester mint, and the later medieval period by our new member John Stafford-Langan, who spoke with confidence and clarity on

the Irish coinage of Edward IV, and by our Vice-President Peter Woodhead, whom we also congratulate on the publication of the first volume of the Schneider Sylloge. David Dykes brought us into the late eighteenth century with his biographical sketch of Samuel Garbett, while the nineteenth century was served by Peter Gaspar, who did nothing to spare my blushes with his description of the Royal Mint's humiliation over the withdrawn sixpences of 1887. Our wider interests were reflected in Robert Lyall's survey of the cuts, plugs and countermarks of the Caribbean and in Luke Syson's beautifully illustrated paper on the eighteenth-century medals of the Dassiers.

The annual out-of-town meeting was held on 6 July in Birmingham, at Soho House, home of Matthew Boulton. Apart from the first paper, however, when Dick Doty provided a fascinating foretaste of what is likely to be the Society's second special publication, Matthew Boulton did not feature in the formal proceedings, which were planned as a general outline of minting and coin use in the West Midlands. This, like our regular monthly programme, produced a good balance, with Andrew Burnett on coins of the Iron Age, our Vice-President Stewart Lyon on the tenth century, Edward Besly on the Civil War period and Dick Doty, as I have said, on the Soho Mint. A broader perspective was provided by my namesake, Professor Christopher Dyer, whose paper on the use of money in the later Middle Ages so impressed us that he has been invited to deliver next year's Linecar Lecture, an invitation that I am glad to say he has cheerfully accepted. But perhaps the revelation of the day came from Stewart Lyon, who bravely confessed to a family connection with Sir Edward Thomason, the Birmingham medallist of the nineteenth century whose memoirs portray an importunate and self-seeking businessman of the worst kind.

It was an excellent day that proved to be a sell-out and, as we always wish on these occasions, produced faces that are not regularly seen at the Warburg. We are grateful to David Symons and to his colleague Rita McLean, who generously looked after the Birmingham end of the arrangements, but inevitably the heaviest burden fell on our Director, Thomas Curtis. With five speakers to commission, plus all the associated correspondence with members wishing to attend, an out-of-town meeting makes a considerable demand on his time. I know, from my own experience as your Director, that it is not easy to find speakers for the regular monthly programme, let alone a one-day meeting out of town. A vivid recollection is with me still of a conversation in 1980 with John Brand, when he asked me if I would consider nomination as Director: papers, he said, would be offered to me and all I would have to do was the relatively simple task of taking these offers and blending them into a balanced programme. Now I do not want to suggest that John was untruthful but the reality bore no resemblance to the promise. In eight years I doubt if I received more than three or four offers of papers, and with this experience in mind I want particularly to acknowledge how much we owe Thomas Curtis for the burden that he shoulders with such calm authority.

Besides going to Birmingham for the special meeting, my travels have taken me to Chester for the Annual Congress of the British Association of Numismatic Societies and to Manchester for the BANS Lecture Course. Both were well organised and friendly occasions at which members of our Society were prominent, but I am bound to say that the modest attendance at the Lecture Course was disappointing, the more so as those who stayed away missed an informative and candid account by the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint on the preparations that are being made for the single European coinage. The prospect of such a fundamental change to our currency gave particular relevance and topicality to this year's celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of decimalisation. Indeed, for me one of the events of the year was the truly memorable speech by Lord Callaghan at the opening of the special anniversary exhibition at the Bank of England in February, when he revealed the almost casual way in which the decision to decimalise was taken in 1966.

During the year I have spoken to the British Art Medal Society and to the St Albans & Hertfordshire Numismatic Society and, for once, my regular visits to London coincided with

the Annual General Meeting of the London Numismatic Club. I was also in London early in February for the special meeting on the cleaning and storage of coins that accompanied the London Coin Fair and with which the name of the Society had been associated. The two speakers from the Conservation Department of the British Museum had a packed house, and the only sadness was to witness the speed with which the room emptied before the open meeting of the Coordinating Committee for Numismatics in Britain which followed the lectures. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the CCNB *Newsletter* is establishing an increasingly useful role for itself and I hope that domestic members of the Society appreciate receiving it as one of the benefits of their membership.

Before concluding this part of my Address I extend my thanks to Council for its support during the past year, for the largely unseen role its members so willingly play in ensuring the smooth functioning of the Society, and, in particular this year, for its help in shaping the Society's constructive response to aspects of the Treasure Bill and the Government's discussion paper on portable antiquities. Of the officers, I have already spoken of our debt to the Director, Thomas Curtis, and to the Treasurer, Tim Webb Ware. To the Secretary, Donal Bateson, who continues to defy the problems of distance, and to the Librarian, Tony Holmes, who is quietly and effectively getting to grips with the Library I also express the Society's gratitude. As for the Editors, Edward Besly and Nick Holmes, this year they deserve our sympathy as well as our gratitude, for after having prepared a bumper *Journal* it is no fault of theirs that delays at the printers will probably prevent its appearance until next February. We are truly fortunate in our officers and I hope we will always keep in our minds the fact that they are volunteers who give up time from their busy professional lives to serve the Society.

My last word, however, is addressed to you all, to thank you, the membership as a whole, for your loyalty and support. But before you can be allowed to toast the health of the Society and indulge in friendly conversation over a drink or two, I fear that you must endure the second part of the Presidential Address.

(The President then delivered a paper entitled 'Thomas Graham's Copper Survey of 1857', the text of which is published at pages 60–66, above.)

PRESENTATION OF THE SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL TO MR JEFFREY NORTH, 28 MAY 1996

In making the presentation, the President said:

WHEN I spoke to Jeffrey North last week to confirm that he would be present tonight, he asked me not to say anything that would cause him embarrassment. This is difficult when the President is being required to present the Society's premier award to someone as worthy of that distinction as Mr North, and I must therefore to some extent seek his indulgence for what I am about to say.

Jeffrey North was elected to membership of our Society in September 1957, nearly forty years ago, and it is more than thirty years since he published the first edition of his *English Hammered Coinage*. That work, a formidable achievement of distillation and synthesis, was immediately recognised as an extremely useful guide to a complex subject, and its practical value to archaeologists and historians as well as to numismatists explains why its popularity has extended into subsequent editions. And by it, I am sure, Mr North has achieved numismatic immortality.

In speaking of *English Hammered Coinage* I am reflecting the fact that for the first time, under the revised rules for the award of the Sanford Saltus Medal, members may take into consideration contributions other than in the Society's publications. But that is in no way to devalue the important papers which Mr North has contributed to our *Journal*: there have been five substantial papers in his own name, and a joint paper with Lord Stewartby, covering significant aspects of the medieval coinages of England, Scotland and Ireland. For them alone Mr North would be a worthy winner of the Sanford Saltus Medal, but I return to *English Hammered Coinage* for the final point I want to make. What caught my eye in the early reviews was the comment that Mr North had properly and wisely sought the assistance of those with specialist knowledge of particular coinages. Tonight we return the compliment and acknowledge, thirty years on, the generosity that he himself has long shown in sharing his knowledge with others.

And now, as required of me by the rules, I say formally to Mr North: you have been awarded the John Sanford Saltus Medal for the year 1995, by the vote of the members of the British Numismatic Society, for your contributions to the *British Numismatic Journal*.

Accepting the award, Mr North replied:

I would like to thank our President for his most generous remarks and my fellow members for the great honour which they have bestowed upon me in the award of this medal. A recent perusal of the latest list of past medallists reminded me how distinguished a company I have now joined. The names of the early recipients are a roll call of the numismatists whose works I have known and consulted since my first interest in English coins. Amongst the more recent ones are many who have assisted me during the past forty years either with their advice or indirectly through their published works. They include my mentor Michael Dolley who received his medal in 1959 and, of course, Christopher Blunt, who was an inspiration to so many of us.

One of the most pleasant aspects of English numismatics is the readiness of its devotees to share without reserve their knowledge and unpublished findings. Without the generous assistance of so many of you it would not have been possible for me to produce *English Hammered Coinage* in its present form and I welcome this opportunity to acknowledge publicly my considerable debt for this invaluable support.

It only remains for me to thank you again for this handsome medal which I shall always prize.

PRESENTATION OF THE COUNCIL PRIZE TO MR MARTIN ALLEN, 23 APRIL 1996

In making the presentation, the President said:

FOR those of you who are unfamiliar with it, the Council Prize was instituted in 1986. It is awarded every three years and is intended to encourage younger students who are making a significant contribution to the study of those coins, medals and tokens which fall within our terms of reference. Previous winners have been Mark Blackburn in 1987, Edward Besly in 1990 and Barrie Cook in 1993; and it is to their names that the name of Martin Allen is now to be added. And deservedly so, for since he joined the Society in 1977 he has developed into a short cross specialist of genuine stature, one of that small group of short cross enthusiasts who I am sure will be fondly remembered by future generations.

His numismatic development is to be seen in the papers that he has already published in our *Journal*, particularly on Class 1a and Class 5, in the assistance he was generous enough to offer with the publication of John Brand's thesis, and still more in his acceptance as a part-time PhD student in the Department of Archaeology at Durham University under the supervision of John Casey. His subject is the Durham mint and I know that his work is taking him on a determined search through exchequer memoranda rolls, pipe rolls, close rolls and other such documents, promising much in the way of new information and fresh insights.

All this he has done, and is doing, without the benefit of a professional numismatic appointment, without the financial support of an institution, and far from London. Distance, indeed, has not stopped him from supporting the numismatic world in a more general way by his regular attendance at Congresses, Lecture Courses and special meetings. On behalf of Council I am pleased to hand him the Council Prize for 1996, confident in the belief that future *Journals* will bear witness to his continuing industry.

INDEX

- Addedomaros, coin of, 145
 Aethelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, coin of, 154
 Aethelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, coin of, 155
 Aethelred I of Northumbria, coin of, 153
 Aethelred II of Northumbria, coins of, 153
 Aethelred II, coins of, 161–2
 Aethelstan, coins of, 159–60
 Aethelwulf of Wessex, coin of, 159
 Aldfrith of Northumbria, coin of, 152
 Alexander III, King of Scotland, coins of, 33–59
 Alfonso V, King of Portugal, coin of, 131
 Alfred of Wessex, coins of, 159
 Alhred of Northumbria, coin of, 153
 ALLEN, M., *The Chronology of Edward I Class 2*, 123–4
 The Classification of Henry VII Sovereign Pence, 127–30
 Amminius, coin of, 144
 Anastasius, coin of, 165
 Andoco, coin of, 145
 Anlaf Guthfrithsson, coin of, 158
 ARCHIBALD, MARION M., contributions to the Coin Register, 157–9, 165
 Arnold V of Loos, coins of, 59, 170
 Athelstan I of East Anglia, coin of, 158
 'Atreates', coins of, 144
 ATTWOOD, P., *The Macclesfield Hoard of Nineteenth-Century Gold Coins*, 136–9
 Auditor's report, 188–9
 BARCLAY, C.P., contributions to the Coin Register, 148–54, 162, 164, 166, 169–70
 Beauvais, coin of the Bishops of, 171
 Beonna of East Anglia, coins of, 158
 BESLY, E.M., contributions to the Coin Register, 168–9, 171–2
 BLACKBURN, M.A.S., *Hiberno-Norse and Irish Sea Imitations of Cnut's Quatrefoil Type*, 1–20
 Contributions to the Coin Register, 146–7, 149–55, 157–62, 164, 166–8, 171–2
 BLAND, R.F., contributions to the Coin Register, 147
 BONSER, M.J., contributions to the Coin Register, 147–72
 BRAND, J.D., his *The English Coinage 1180–1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges* reviewed, 179–80
 Bredgar, Kent, token of, 134–5
 Burgred of Mercia, coin of, 158
 Byzantine coins, finds of, 165
 'Cantii', coins of, 143–4
 Carausius, coins of, 147
 Carolingian coins, finds of, 154
 'Catuvellauni', coins of, 145–6
 Celtic coins, finds of, 143–7
 Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, coin of, 154
 Ceolwulf I of Mercia, coin of, 157
 CHALLIS, C.E., review of J.F. Chown's *A History of Money from AD 800*, 177–8
 Charles IV, King of France, coin of, 171
 Charles V, King of France, coin of, 171
 Charles VI, King of France, coin of, 171
 Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor), coin of the Spanish Netherlands, 172
 Charles the Bald, coin of, 154
 Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, coin of, 131
 Charles the Rash of Flanders, coin of, 172
 CHICK, D., contributions to the Coin Register, 147–8, 152, 154–66
 CHOWN, J.F., his *A History of Money from AD 800* reviewed, 177–8
 Cnut, coins of, 162–3
 Coenwulf of Mercia, coins of, 157
 COOK, B.J., contributions to the Coin Register, 172
 COOK, B.J. and A. LEWIS, *An Early Sixteenth-Century Silver Hoard from Downham, Lancs*, 131
 'Corieltauvi', coins of, 146–7
 COTTAM, G.L., *Further confirmation of a Kentish Alliance? – Light Shed by a New Bronze Unit of Verica*, 113–16
 CRAFTER, T., contributions to the Coin Register, 149, 151–3, 156, 158, 161–2, 164–71
 CUDDFORD, M.J., contributions to the Coin Register, 143–5, 147, 170–71
 Cunobelin, coins of, 145–6
 CURTEIS, M., contributions to the Coin Register, 145–7
 David II, King of Scotland, coin of, 126
 DAVIES, G., his *A History of Money, from Ancient Times to the Present Day* reviewed, 177
 DAVIES, J.A., contributions to the Coin Register, 146, 149–53, 157–72
 DEAN, VALERIE E., contribution to N.M.McQ. HOLMES, *The Ednam, Roxburgshire, Hoard* (1995), 43
 DICKINSON, M.J. and R.H. THOMPSON, their *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 46: The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.: Tokens of the British Isles 1575–1750. Part V Staffordshire to Westmorland* reviewed, 184
 'Dobunni', coins of, 147
 DOTY, R.G. and T. HACKENS, editors of *ITALIAM FATO PROFUGI – Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli* reviewed, 184–6
 Dreux (Hughes Bardoul), coin of, 171–2
 Dubnovellaunus, coin of, 145
 DUPLESSY, J., his *Les Trésors Monétaires Médiévaux et Modernes Découverts en France, vol. II (1223–1385)* reviewed, 183–4
 DYER, G.P., *Thomas Graham's Copper Survey of 1857*, 60–66
 Eadberht of Northumbria, coins of, 152–3
 Eadberht Praen of Kent, coin of, 154
 Eadgar, coin of, 160
 Eadmund, coins of, 160
 Eadmund of East Anglia, coin of, 158
 Eadred, coins of, 160
 Eadwig, coin of, 160
 Eanred of Northumbria, coins of, 153
 Ecgbert of Wessex, coins of, 158–9
 Edward I, coins of, 33–59
 Irish coins of, 33–59
 Edward II, coins of, 33–59
 Edward III, coin of, 169–70
 Edward IV, coins of, 131, 170
 Edward the Confessor, coins of, 163–5
 Edward the Elder, coin of, 159
 Edward the Elder of Wessex, coin of, 159
 Edward the Martyr, coin of, 161

- Eppillus, coins of, 144
 Eric of Pomerania, coin of, 172
 Eric VII of Pomerania, coin of, 172
 Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, coins of, 172
 Finds (for single finds, see the geographical index to the Coin Register, 141-3)
 Downham, Lancashire, 131
 Ednam, Roxburghshire, 33-59
 Macclesfield, Cheshire, 136-9
 Gaucher de Châtillon, coins of, 59, 171
 George IV, coins of, 136-9
 Guillaume de Hainaut, Bishop of Cambrai, coin of, 59
 HACKENS, T. and R.G. DOTY, editors of *ITALIAM FATO PROFUGI - Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli* reviewed, 184-6
 HAECK, A., his *Middelleeuwse Muntschatten Gevonden in België (750-1433)* reviewed, 183-4
 Harold I, coins of, 163
 Harold II, coins of, 165
 Harthacnut, coins of, 163
 Henry I, coins of, 166-7
 Henry II, coins of, 168-9
 Henry VII, coins of, 131
 Henry VII, King of the Romans, coin of, 41-2, 59
 HOLMAN, D.J., contributions to the Coin Register, 143-6, 148-52, 157, 161, 163, 165-8, 172
 HOLMES, A.J., review of G. Davies's *A History of Money, from Ancient Times to the Present Day*, 177
 HOLMES, N.M.McQ., The Ednam, Roxburghshire, Hoard (1995), 33-59
 More on the Dumfries Hoards (1878), 125
 An Unrecorded Farthing Type of David II of Scotland, 126
 'Iceni', coins of, 146
 Islamic coin, find of, 165
 Ismail b Ahmad, coin of, 165
 Jaenberht, Archbishop of Canterbury, coin of, 154
 James I, farthing tokens of (discarded strip), 170
 Jean d'Avesnes, coins of, 59, 170
 JENSEN, J.S., editor of *Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillensamling (Danish coins from the 11th century on the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals)* reviewed, 181-3
 DE JERSEY, P., contributions to the Coin Register, 143-7
 John Baliol, King of Scotland, coins of, 33-59
 John I of Brabant, coin of, 170
 John of Louvain, coin of, 170
 JOHNSON, W., Textual Sources for the Study of Jewish Currency Crimes in Thirteenth-Century England, 21-32
 KING, CATHY, E., contribution to the Coin Register, 144
 LESSEN, M., A Listing of Cromwell Coin Types, 132-3
 LEWIS, A. and B.J. COOK, An Early Sixteenth-Century Silver Hoard from Downham, Lanes, 131
 LOBEL, R. et al, their *Coincraft's Standard Catalogue of English and UK Coins, 1066 to date* (second edition) reviewed, 180-81
 Louis the Pious, coin of, 154
 Louis de Nevers, coin of, 171
 Louis IV of Bavaria, coin of, 171
 LYON, S., review of Elizabeth J.E. Pirie's *Coinage of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700-867, in the Yorkshire Collections*, 173-6
 Review of *Tusindtallets Danske Mønter fra Den kongelige Mønt- og Medaillensamling (Danish coins from the 11th century in the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals)*, edited by J.S. Jensen, 181-3
 MANVILLE, H.E., review of *ITALIAM FATO PROFUGI - Numismatic Studies Dedicated to Vladimir and Elvira Eliza Clain-Stefanelli*, edited by R.G. Doty and T. Hackens, 184-6
 MAYHEW, N.J., reviews of J. Duplessy's *Les Trésors Monétaires Médiévaux et Modernes Découverts en France, vol. II (1223-1385)* and A. Haec's *Middelleeuwse Muntschatten Gevonden in België (750-1433)*, 183-4
 Merovingian coins, finds of, 147-8
 MOESGAARD, J.C., contributions to the Coin register, 147-68, 171-2
 MYCOCK, C., review of R.H. Thompson's and M.J. Dickinson's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 46: The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., Tokens of the British Isles 1575-1750. Part V Staffordshire to Westmorland*, 184
 NEWMAN, J., contributions to the Coin Register, 145, 149-50, 161, 166, 171
 Nicephorus II, coin of, 165
 NORTH, J.J., Some Imitations and Forgeries of the English and Irish Long Cross Pence of Henry III: Corrected Catalogue, 117-22
 His *English Hammered Coinage, Volume 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600-1272* (third edition) reviewed, 178-9
 Offa of Mercia, coins of, 155-7
 PAGAN, H., review of J.J. North's *English Hammered Coinage, Volume 1, Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600-1272* (third edition), 178-9
 Philip III or Philip IV, King of France, 171
 Philip IV, King of France, coin of, 42, 59
 PIRIE, ELIZABETH J.E., her *Coinage of the Kingdom of Northumbria, c. 700-867, in the Yorkshire Collections* reviewed, 173-6
 PORTER, VENETIA, contribution to the Coin Register, 165
 Presentation of the Council Prize, 194
 Presentation of the Sanford Saltus Medal, 193
 Presidential Address, 1996, 190-92
 Proceedings of the Society, 187
 Redulf of Northumbria, coin of, 153
 Renaud of Gelderland, coins of, 42, 59
 Renaud III of Coevorde, coin of, 172
 Robert I (Bruce), King of Scotland, coins of, 33-59
 Robert de Béthune, coins of, 59, 170
 ROBINSON, P., contribution to the Coin Register, 147
 Roman coins, finds of, 147
 Rues, coin of, 145
 St Edmund Memorial coins, 158
 St Peter of York penny, 158
 Saxony, pfennig/denar of, 172
 Sceattas, finds of, 148-53
 SEALY, D.L.F., review of *Coincraft's Standard Catalogue of English and UK Coins, 1066 to date* (second edition), by R. Lobel et al, 180-81
 Stephen, coins of, 167-8
 STEWARTBY, Lord, Scottish Coin Collectors, 87-112
 Review of J.D. Brand's *The English Coinage 1180-1247: Money, Mints and Exchanges*, 179-80
 STOCKER, M., The Coinage of 1893, 67-86
 Stycas, finds of, 153-4

- SYMONS, D.J., contributions to the Coin Register, 146–7, 155, 166–7
 Tasciovanus, coins of, 145
 Tetricus I, coin of, 147
 Theodosius I, coin of, 147
 THOMPSON, R.H., An Armorial Token from 'Breadgate', 134–5
 THOMPSON, R.H. and M.J. DICKINSON, their *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 46; *The Norweb Collection, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A., Tokens of the British Isles 1575–1750. Part V Staffordshire to Westmorland* reviewed, 184
 'Trinovantes', coins of, 145
 Valéran de Ligny, coin of, 170
 Verica, coin of, 113–16
 Victoria, coins of, 136–9
 Vikings of Northumbria, coin of, 158
 Wiglaf of Mercia, coin of, 157
 William I, coins of, 165–6
 William II, coins of, 166
 William IV, coins of, 136–9
 William the Lion, King of Scotland, coin of, 170
 William of Namur, coins of, 171
 WILLIAMS, G., contributions to the Coin Register, 147–9, 154–5, 157, 165–70, 172

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